

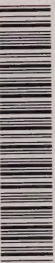
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Factsheet

8



SOVEREIGNTY: CANADA AND THE ARCTIC

Introduction

There are thousands of islands in the Canadian Arctic forming what is called the Arctic archipelago. This part of the country has received increased attention in recent years. This attention is the result of several important issues, among them: sovereignty and security. This factsheet will deal with the issue of sovereignty.

Canadian Arctic Sovereignty

Sovereignty refers to the exclusive power to rule over a particular piece of territory. For instance, when one says Canada is sovereign, this means that Canada, and Canada alone, has the power to make laws and rules which govern Canadian territory. The issue of Canadian Arctic sovereignty concerns whether or not Canada is sovereign over waters which are part of the Arctic archipelago. (See map.)

In 1880, Britain transferred sovereignty over the islands in the Arctic to Canada. It was not, however, until 1940 that a Canadian vessel travelled through the Northwest Passage. This route through Arctic waters connects the Eastern Arctic to the Western Arctic. Although the islands of the Arctic archipelago are well recognized as Canadian territory, ownership of some of the waters between these islands has been disputed. This dispute mainly concerns waters which are part of the Northwest Passage.

The Northwest Passage

The Northwest Passage is not simply one route through the Arctic

waters, but refers to several possible routes. The first complete trip through the passage was made by Norwegian Roald Amundsen in 1906. Because of difficult weather and ice conditions, this route is not used very frequently. In the late 1960s, oil drilling in Alaska created some interest in using the Northwest Passage as a route to ship oil to the rest of the United States.

The Voyage of the *Manhattan*

In 1969, the US supertanker *Manhattan* travelled through the Northwest Passage without seeking Canada's permission to do so. The United States argued that the waters were international straits through which, according to the Law of the Sea, passage could not be denied. Canada argued that the Northwest Passage is not an international strait and sent a Canadian ice-breaker to accompany the *Manhattan*. The *Manhattan* made a second voyage in 1970, by which time the Canadian government had taken action to strengthen Canadian control over Arctic waters.

Canada's response included a new set of rules and laws contained in the "Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act." This act was passed to protect the Arctic environment from such dangers as oil spills from supertankers. It proclaimed that Canada had the right to control shipping within a 100-nautical mile (182 km) zone around the Arctic archipelago. In addition to preventing pollution, the act was seen as a way to assert greater Canadian control over Arctic waters. Canada also extended the width of its territo-

rial sea from 3 to 12 nautical miles (from 5.5 to 22 km) partly to ensure Canadian control of entry points to the Northwest Passage.

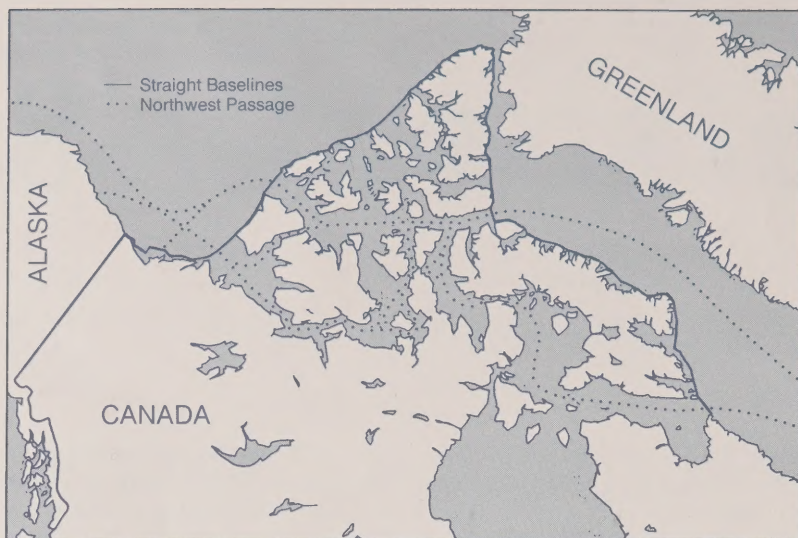
The Voyage of the *Polar Sea*

The issue of sovereignty arose again in 1985. On this occasion, the US Coast Guard ice-breaker *Polar Sea* travelled from Greenland to Alaska, through the Northwest Passage. The US did not request permission from the Canadian government to make the voyage. The US did, however, allow Canadian observers to travel onboard the *Polar Sea*.

The government took several actions after the voyage of the *Polar Sea* to reinforce again Canada's claim to the Northwest Passage. It enclosed the Arctic archipelago in straight baselines which marked Canada's internal waters. The government also announced that Canada would build a Polar 8 class ice-breaker capable of travelling through the Northwest Passage year-round. Currently, no Canadian ice-breaker can patrol the Northwest Passage year-round. This new ice-breaker would create a visible Canadian presence in Arctic waters. (Construction on the Polar 8 ice-breaker is not expected to be completed until the mid-1990s.) Among other things, the government also promised to begin negotiation with the United States to resolve the question of sovereignty in the Arctic.

In the Defence White Paper of 1987, the government proposed to strengthen Canada's sovereignty claims in the Arctic by purchasing nuclear-

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Map of the Canadian Arctic showing the straight baselines of the Archipelago and the various routes through the Northwest Passage.

powered submarines. The government argues that the ability to monitor and control maritime areas is important to ensure sovereignty. The White Paper presents nuclear-powered submarines as the best system for carrying out such surveillance and control.

The Arctic Cooperation Agreement

In 1988, Canada and the United States came to an agreement on Arctic cooperation. In the agreement, the two countries agreed to assist navigation by their ice-breakers in their Arctic waters. The US also pledged to seek Canadian consent before sending US ice-breakers through waters Canada considers to be internal. This pledge of consent does not apply, however, to other US vessels such as submarines or warships, or privately owned vessels.

There is some disagreement over whether or not this Arctic Cooperation Agreement improves Canada's claim over the Northwest Passage. The government views it as advancing Canada's interests because transit by US government-owned or -operated ice-breakers now requires Canadian consent on a case-by-case basis. At the same time, the agreement allows both sides to maintain their positions on the legal status of the Northwest Passage: Canada argues that it is part of internal

Canadian waters; the US argues that it is an international strait.

Conclusion

The United States is a maritime power which depends on its navy to help project its power around the world. The US does not want to see measures which will make the free movement of its navy more difficult. This is why it does not accept Canada's claims over the Northwest Passage. Canada is a northern nation which has long seen the Arctic as an important part of its own territory and character. This is the reason Canada continues to claim complete sovereignty over the waters of the Arctic archipelago. The issue could be decided by the World Court in The Hague, Netherlands, but neither Canada nor the United States has asked the Court to hear the case. The Court cannot rule on a case until it has been asked to do so. In the meantime, Canada and the US will have to continue to cope with disagreement over the legal status of Arctic waters.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Internal waters — waters on the landward side of the territorial sea form part of the internal waters of a

state. Such waters are subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of a state.

Territorial sea — the belt of sea beyond a state's land territory and internal waters. According to the 1982 UN Conference on the Law of the Sea, every state has the right to establish the breadth of its territorial sea up to a limit not exceeding 12 nautical miles. Within the territorial sea, a state exercises exclusive jurisdiction, subject to certain limits.

International strait — waters which are used for international navigation between one part of the high seas or an exclusive economic zone and another part of the high seas or exclusive economic zone.

Straight baselines — in the case of an archipelago, straight baselines are lines which join the outermost points of the outermost islands and reefs of the archipelago.

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Factsheet

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INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW



Introduction

International humanitarian law (or the law of war, or law of armed conflict) is comprised of the many rules and regulations concerning armed conflict. Its purpose is to introduce moderation and restraint into armed conflict, and to lessen the suffering of conflict's victims.

Prior to modern times, agreements between states (or sovereigns) on the conduct of war were few. Where agreements did exist, they only involved the parties to a specific conflict and were based on *reciprocity* — a party would agree to certain principles only if the other did as well. The conduct of war was also guided by such factors as custom, religion, and chivalry.

Roots of International Humanitarian Law

Although the roots of international humanitarian law are many, four events have been particularly important in its development.

Lieber Code

President Lincoln issued orders during the US Civil War to govern the conduct of Federal troops in battle. These orders were General Orders No. 100, or the Lieber Code, drafted by Francis Lieber. This was probably the first binding code of conduct for an army in the field. It set down in writing much of what was then the customary law of warfare. The Lieber Code was a significant influence on the international humanitarian law which followed.

Red Cross

In 1859, Swiss citizen Henry Dunant witnessed the Battle of Solferino at which some 38,000 French and Austrian soldiers died or were wounded. Horrified that many of the deaths were due to a lack of medical care, Dunant founded the Red Cross movement. The Red Cross convinced the Swiss government to host an international conference on care for those wounded in the field of battle. Ever since this first Geneva Convention, the Red Cross has been at the forefront of efforts to create and expand international humanitarian law.

First Geneva Convention

The Geneva Convention of 1864 was the first of a series, climaxing in the four landmark conventions of 1949, with two Additional Protocols signed in 1977. The law found in these conventions is known as 'Geneva law' and primarily concerns the protection of victims of war. These include civilians and certain categories of military personnel (chaplains and medical personnel), and those who are *hors de combat* (prisoners of war and those in the military who can no longer fight because they are wounded).

First Hague Conference

Tsar Nicholas II of Russia convened the first Hague Peace Conference in 1899. A second conference was held in 1907 and the agreements produced by these two conferences are known as 'Hague law'. In contrast to Geneva law, this stream of law mainly concerns the methods and

means of warfare. Over time, however, some of the issues originally dealt with by Hague law have also been dealt with by Geneva law.

Basic Principles

Underlying the rules of international humanitarian law are certain basic principles.

Distinction

During armed conflict, a distinction must be made between combatants and civilians, and military targets and civilian objectives. In international law, for example, bombardment of a purely civilian population is prohibited.

Military Necessity

Military necessity is the idea that force is justified to the extent that it leads to the submission of the enemy at the earliest possible moment, at the lowest possible cost. The right to use force during war has limits. Although military necessity is an agreed principle, exactly what amount of force is necessary in a particular situation is often a matter of controversy.

Chivalry

Chivalry is the spirit of honour inspired by the practises and customs of medieval knights. In international law, this spirit is translated into the prohibition of *perfidy*: for example, the deceitful use of the red cross emblem is a grave offence.

Humanity

Measures which forbid weapons and practises which lead to unnecessary

suffering and destruction are inspired by the principle of humanity. This principle was reflected at the Hague Conference in 1899 which banned dum-dum bullets. Dum-dum bullets flatten upon impact and cause greater suffering than ordinary bullets. A more general statement condemning weapons which cause unnecessary suffering was made over thirty years earlier in the Declaration of St. Petersburg (1868).

Specific Issues dealt with under International Humanitarian Law

International humanitarian law deals with many issues raised by armed conflict, from the banning of specific weapons, to the rights of neutral countries. Three issues are considered below: opening of hostilities, prisoners of war, and war crimes.

Opening of Hostilities

According to the 1907 Hague Convention on the Opening of Hostilities, before hostilities between states begin, there is to be a declaration of war, or an ultimatum to declare war. In fact, however, most wars since World War II have been fought without a declaration of war. The practise of declaring war has become obsolete, largely because war is illegal under international law — to declare war would be to declare an illegal act. Under the UN Charter, the threat or use of force is only legal in self-defence.

Today, international humanitarian law applies fully between states whether or not the parties recognize each other or make any formal declarations.

Prisoners of War

In the past, those captured during conflict were at the mercy of their captors, sometimes facing execution, slavery, or being held for ransom. Today, there are extensive rules concerning prisoners of war (POWs). The principle guiding the treatment of POWs is that their captivity should not be a form of punishment. Once captured, POWs have lost their capacity to wage war and should be protected from further harm. The purpose of holding POWs is to prevent them from re-engaging in the conflict.

The 1929 Geneva Convention was the first agreement which dealt solely with the fate of POWs. POW rights were further strengthened in one of the four 1949 Geneva Conventions. The International Committee of the Red Cross plays an important role in the lives of POWs, delivering food parcels, medical supplies and mail from friends and families. The Red Cross has the right to visit all areas where POWs might be held and is generally responsible for monitoring the application of the Geneva Conventions.

War Crimes

After World War II, the UN affirmed three categories of international crimes for which offenders bear individual criminal responsibility:

- Crimes against peace: planning, initiating or waging a war of aggression.
- Conventional war crimes: violations of international humanitarian law; for example, the abuse of POWs.
- Crimes against humanity: particularly inhumane acts such as murder, extermination or enslavement of civilians, including during wartime.

The idea of 'war crimes' was largely the result of events that took place during the First and Second World Wars, especially the atrocities committed during World War II. Before the war ended, the Allies warned that those guilty of war crimes would be punished. In 1943, a United Nations War Crimes Commission was established to gather information and develop measures necessary to try and punish war criminals. In 1945, the Nuremberg Tribunal met to try alleged German war criminals. A similar International Military Tribunal for the Far East was established to try alleged Japanese war criminals. These trials firmly established the principle that both a commander who gives an order to commit a war crime, as well as the person carrying it out, are guilty of that crime. The fact that individuals followed the orders of superiors does not clear them of their responsibility.

Conclusion

Today, the rules of international humanitarian law, as found in the Geneva

Conventions and other agreements, are seen as part of general international law, binding even upon states which have not signed the specific agreements. Like all international law, however, it suffers from having weak measures to enforce it. In addition, some argue that attempts to 'civilize' what is an uncivilized activity makes war more acceptable — efforts should be focussed instead on abolishing war altogether. In response it is argued that as long as armed conflict is a fact of international relations, all efforts to make it less barbaric should be welcomed.

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Factsheet 16

ECONOMIC SANCTIONS



Introduction

Economic sanctions are the withdrawal, or threat of withdrawal, of customary trade or financial relations.¹ Economic sanctions are imposed against a state by another state, group of states, or international organization. Sanctions in general are meant to put pressure on a state to change behaviour that is disapproved. The modern concept of multilateral economic sanctions is dated from the time of the League of Nations, the predecessor to the United Nations (UN). Economic sanctions were to be applied against any "Member of the League [which] resort[ed] to war" without first following the League's procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes. The "severance of all trade or financial relations" was to take place immediately in such a case. The growth of international economic interdependence made sanctions a potentially powerful tool. States depend on international trade to improve economic growth and bring wealth to their people. It was thought that cutting this trade would pressure an offending state to change its behaviour.

The use of economic sanctions is also one of the powers of the United Nations. Under the UN Charter, the use of sanctions is an option for the

Security Council in any situation determined by the Council to be a "threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression...." In addition, the Security Council can decide that the application of sanctions will be legally mandatory for all UN members. Both the League of Nations and UN have applied economic sanctions. Sanctions, however, are sometimes also applied by individual states, by individual states in cooperation with their allies, and by multilateral organizations other than the UN.

The Purpose of Sanctions

Economic sanctions can serve several purposes and sometimes more than one at a time.

- Sanctions can be used against a state guilty of violating international law in the hopes of forcing it to cease its illegal behaviour.
- Economic sanctions alone are unlikely to convince a state to change a strongly-held policy. Nevertheless, it is argued there are some situations in which a state must be shown that its behaviour is unacceptable. This is true even if a change in policy cannot be forced. In such a case, sanctions express disapproval.
- The use of sanctions in one case can send a signal to other states that they too will be penalized for behaviour contrary to international norms. It is argued that the threat of sanctions can deter states from such behaviour.
- Sanctions have been used to encourage the overthrow of governments.

By putting economic pressure on a country, it is hoped that its people, or factions within the government or military will become discontented and will rise against the target government and overthrow it.

- Sometimes sanctions primarily serve to satisfy the domestic political demands of the state applying them. When there are cries to 'do something' in response to a situation caused by another government, but there is little leverage available, a government might apply sanctions. This creates some sense of action, even if sanctions have little real impact on the target state.

Types of Economic Sanctions

There are two types of sanctions which can be applied against a state: universal and selective. Universal sanctions seek to cut *all* economic ties between the target state and the state or states applying them. Selective sanctions focus on *particular* economic ties. Selective sanctions can target three broad categories of economic activities:

- Exports to the target country can be restricted or banned. The purpose of this measure is to deny the target country those things necessary for the smooth functioning of its economy. Such a ban might focus on critical resources (oil, minerals), or on technologies and industrial goods. Even if the target country can turn to other sources or its own local industries to fill the gaps

¹ Gary Clyde Hufbauer, et al., *Economic Sanctions Reconsidered: History and Current Policy*, Second Edition, Institute for International Economics, Washington, D.C., 1990, p. 2.

caused by the sanctions, such substitutes for normal trade are likely to be expensive.

- The purchase of goods from the target country can be restricted or banned. This measure can be particularly costly to a country whose economy is heavily dependent on exports to other countries. Lost exports mean lost income. That loss of income, in turn, limits the ability of the country to purchase foreign products.
- Financial flows is a third category of economic activity which can be restricted. A target country with financial assets in foreign banks might have those assets seized and frozen. A ban can be placed on issuing new foreign loans to the country in question. With no access to foreign investment, any new economic activity within the target country would have to be financed out of the pockets of its people alone. If the country is already suffering under export and import sanctions, its income may have fallen to the point where self-financing is impossible.

The Sanctions Record²

Economic sanctions by the whole international community started badly when the League of Nations applied them to Italy for its invasion of Abyssinia (Ethiopia) in 1935. The League applied only selective sanctions and did not ban the sale to Italy of such strategic imports as coal, oil or steel.³ While the sanctions did have an impact on the Italian economy, they did not convince Italy to withdraw from Abyssinia, which it defeated in May 1936. The sale of oil, essential to the Italian economy, was not restricted. This was due to the fear that such a move might lead

to a European war and that Italy would be able to secure oil from non-League members. Fairly or unfairly, the Italian case soured the international community's experience with sanctions. Under the authority of the UN, they have been made mandatory only on three occasions: against Rhodesia in 1966 and 1968, against South Africa in 1977, and against Iraq in 1990. They have been applied more frequently by individual states and groups of states but they have never proven to be the decisive instrument they were hoped to be.

Difficulties with Sanctions

The failure of sanctions to be a more powerful instrument is due to several factors.

- Economic interdependence, which makes sanctions possible, cuts both ways. A state imposing sanctions must accept some economic losses. Those industries which will suffer will exert pressure to make the sanctions less rigid or lift them completely.
- Generally, the more states which impose the sanctions, the greater effect they will have. It is often difficult, however, to convince other states to join. Once several states do join in applying sanctions, it is a challenge to maintain a united policy.
- A sanctions policy initiated by just one state or a few, will drive the target state to other suppliers. Even if mandatory sanctions are applied by the United Nations, such sanctions are difficult to enforce. In addition, states which are not UN members must be convinced to follow the UN example.
- A common reaction of people when sanctions are applied to their country is to rally to the support of the government. The people are likely to work together with their government to overcome the burden of sanctions. They can do this by finding local substitutes for the sanctioned goods, doing without, or finding clever ways to buy and sell goods despite sanctions.
- Governments often exaggerate the impact sanctions can have, and set

unreasonably high goals for them. When the sanctions do not have their advertised effect, they are viewed as a failure. If they were given clear and more modest goals, sanctions would be seen as more successful.

There are very few non-military means available to put pressure on states, sanctions being one of them. Because of this, and despite sanctions' mixed record of success, they are likely to be a continuing feature of international relations.

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² *Economic Sanctions Reconsidered: History and Current Policy* presents over one hundred case studies of the use of economic sanctions.

³ The Canadian delegate to the League suggested such a ban but was publicly repudiated by the Canadian government.

JANUARY 1991

Factsheet 15

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THE COMMONWEALTH

Introduction

Today, fifty nations across the globe belong to the Commonwealth, or British Commonwealth of Nations, as it is sometimes known. These nations represent a wide cross-section of states: industrialized nations of the northern hemisphere, developing nations of the south; nations born out of European settlement, nations created by indigenous populations.

The origins of the Commonwealth lie in the history of the changing nature of the British Empire. However, its evolution has carried this association of diverse nations in directions that could never have been predicted from its imperial origins. No single event created the Commonwealth: its roots lie in the way in which those countries once ruled by Britain became independent, sovereign nations.

History

At the turn of the 20th century, the British Empire covered about $\frac{1}{4}$ of the globe, and $\frac{1}{4}$ of the world's population. As an island nation, Britain's expansion was overseas and resulted in a far-flung empire. Some colonies in the empire were settled by immigrants from the British Isles, while others were simply ruled by Britain.

The Commonwealth began with the colonies that were settled by British immigrants. Over time, those colonies demanded greater control over their affairs. Canada was the first British colony to be granted responsible self-government, and then independence in 1867. Other colonies that followed were Australia, New Zealand, Newfoundland, and South Africa. These became known as Dominions of Britain, which along

with Britain, formed the foundation of the Commonwealth.*

The first appearance of 'Commonwealth' in an official statement came in 1917 when an Imperial War Cabinet meeting declared the British Dominions to be "nations of an Imperial Commonwealth." The term was meant to describe the unique relationship between Britain and the Dominions. The Imperial War Cabinet itself illustrates this uniqueness.

Although part of an overall British effort, the Dominions contributed each in their own way to Britain's cause in World War I. In order to plan strategy, British Prime Minister Lloyd George created the Imperial War Cabinet which included the Dominion prime ministers and representatives of India. The Cabinet was evidence that the Commonwealth was evolving into an organization of partners.

The future tone of the Commonwealth was set by the Balfour Report, delivered at the Imperial Conference of 1926. The Report stated that the British Dominions:

are autonomous Communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate to one another. . . though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

It was decided at this conference to create a network of High Commissioners to link the members of the Commonwealth. They would serve a similar role

Members of the Commonwealth

Antigua and Barbuda
Australia
Bahamas
Bangladesh
Barbados
Belize
Botswana
Canada
Cyprus
Dominica
Fiji
The Gambia
Ghana
Grenada
Guyana
India
Jamaica
Kenya
Kiribati
Lesotho
Malawi
Malaysia
Maldives
Malta
Mauritius
Namibia
Nauru
New Zealand
Nigeria
Papua New Guinea
Saint Christopher and Nevis
Saint Lucia
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines
Seychelles
Sierra Leone
Singapore
Solomon Islands
Sri Lanka
Swaziland
Tanzania
Tonga
Trinidad and Tobago
Tuvalu
Uganda
United Kingdom
Vanuatu
Western Samoa
Zambia
Zimbabwe

*In 1934, Newfoundland reverted to a crown colony, governed directly by Britain, and lost its 'Dominion' status. This change was requested by Newfoundland in order to deal with a debt crisis. In 1949, Newfoundland & Labrador became the tenth province of Canada.

to that of ambassadors. The designation 'High Commissioner', however, signified that Commonwealth members were not foreign to each other. The establishment of High Commissions (headed by High Commissioners) between Commonwealth nations continues to this day.

The Post-War Commonwealth

The post-World War II period marked great changes for the Commonwealth. Most importantly, the Commonwealth came to include more than just the European-settled Dominions of earlier years.

India was the first to gain its independence after the war. It was followed by a string of British colonies in Asia, Africa and the Caribbean, most of which chose to remain as part of the Commonwealth. After India gained its independence, however, it decided to become a *republic* and no longer accepted the British monarch as Head of State. Since this had previously been one of the common bonds among Commonwealth members, it was decided that in the future, the British monarch would be only the *symbolic* head of the Commonwealth.

Before 1965, the British government usually arranged meetings of Commonwealth ministers. There were also *ad hoc* bodies to deal with such things as scientific and technical cooperation. The creation of a Commonwealth Secretariat in 1965 established a team of international civil servants whose interests were in the success of the Commonwealth as a whole. The first Secretary-General was Arnold Smith, a Canadian diplomat. He was followed in 1975 by Shridath Ramphal of Guyana, and the current Secretary-General is Chief Emeka Anyaoku of Nigeria.

Next to the Secretariat, one of the most important organs of the Commonwealth is the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation (CFTC). The CFTC was established in 1971 and has grown from an annual expenditure of under \$1 million to about \$37 million in 1989. The CFTC funds practical programmes in developing Commonwealth countries, programmes such as export development, rural development, education and training, and expertise on a wide variety of issues. Recently, the CFTC

provided experts to assist in Namibia's transition to independence from South Africa. This expertise included advice on drafting the constitution and restructuring the civil service.

The highlight of Commonwealth activities is the biennial Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting. These meetings are more relaxed, informal gatherings than most such international events. The leaders discuss matters of common concern, and often consider expert studies produced by the Secretariat. The meeting concludes with a declaration outlining what was agreed at the meeting, including future goals and programmes.

These 'official' agencies and activities are not the whole story of the modern Commonwealth. There are a great number of voluntary and professional Commonwealth associations which contribute much to the Commonwealth's impact. These associations bring together people from around the world to share their expertise and experiences in various fields.

The Future of the Commonwealth

Although the Commonwealth has shown itself able to adapt and change to circumstances, this has sometimes been difficult. The issue of white-minority rule in southern Africa has been a continuing challenge to the Commonwealth.

In 1961, South Africa changed its form of government to a republic, and asked to be readmitted to the Commonwealth as a republic. Canada led a movement (which was successful) to keep South Africa out. It was argued that South Africa's policy of racial separation and inequality (*apartheid*) was contrary to the spirit and achievements of the Commonwealth. To this day, there is disagreement, largely between Britain and the rest of the Commonwealth, as to the best way to bring about change in South Africa.

In 1965, the white-minority government in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) unilaterally declared independence from Britain. This too led to a clash of views within the Commonwealth which sometimes threatened the very existence of the organization.

The Commonwealth is about to enter another phase in its evolution. At the last

Heads of Government Meeting in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, a committee of ten members was struck to review the role of the Commonwealth and its structures. This committee, of which Canada is a member, is to report to the next meeting in Harare, Zimbabwe, in 1991.

As the first Dominion within the British Empire, Canada is one of the most experienced Commonwealth members. It has long valued its membership in the Commonwealth as an important element of its foreign policy and has contributed both human and financial resources to the Commonwealth's activities. Canada is expected to play an active role in charting the Commonwealth's future.

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Factsheet

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LA FRANCOPHONIE

Introduction

The term 'francophonie' was first introduced in the 19th century. The French geographer Onésime Reclus used it to describe the grouping of people which shared the French language. Today, la Francophonie refers to the organization that embraces the world's French-speaking states. After many years of discussions, la Francophonie was formally created when the first *Sommet des chefs d'État et de gouvernement des pays ayant en commun l'usage du français* (Summit of Heads of States and Governments having in Common the Use of French) took place in 1986. The primary aim of la Francophonie (as it is more commonly known) is to promote the use of French—as a vehicle for international cooperation and exchange among the world's French-speaking communities.

Historical Development

The idea of organizations to bring together French-speaking communities from across the globe can be traced to the 19th century. At that time, a number of francophone cultural and linguistic associations were created. The oldest and most notable of these is l'Alliance française. It was founded in 1883 by a group of French intellectuals to promote the spread the French language.

In the 20th century, the English language acquired increasing international prominence. In addition, a number of former French colonies in Africa and Asia gained their independence. The growth of French-speaking states, and the predominance of English created a strong desire for the French-speaking community to cooperate in their shared interests.

The 1950s and 1960s saw efforts to promote genuine cooperation. At the

governmental level, multilateral annual conferences such as *La Conférence des ministres de l'Éducation* (Conference of Education Ministers) and *La Conférence des ministres de la jeunesse et des sports* (Conference of Ministers of Youth and Sports) were initiated to coordinate government policy. They also provided a forum for initial discussions on a possible summit of leaders from francophone states. In addition, a number of individuals, namely President Léopold Sédar Senghor of Senegal and President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia, pioneered efforts for the development of an institutionalized international francophone community.

The result was a number of organizations aimed at strengthening ties between francophone states. The oldest and one of the most respected of these organizations is *L'Association des Universités partiellement ou entièrement de langue française* (Association of Partially and Entirely French-speaking Universities). It was created in Montréal in 1961 to promote the exchange of information and resources between francophone universities. A particularly important organization to la Francophonie was founded in 1970; *l'Agence de coopération culturelle et technique* (Agency for Cultural and Technical Cooperation), or ACCT. The ACCT was the first concrete step towards making la Francophonie an institutionalized reality. Its aim is to develop relationships of mutual cooperation in the areas of education, culture, science and technology, through the use of the French language.

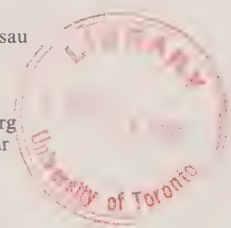
Toward the First Summit of la Francophonie

In the 1970s, the number of French-language international associations continued to grow. Most of these organi-

zations were either non-governmental, or at low governmental levels. Such organizations include *La Fédération internationale des professeurs de français* (International Federation of Professors of French), *Le Conseil international des*

Members of la Francophonie

Belgium
Belgium —
Communauté française de Belgique
Benin
Burkina Faso
Burundi
Cameroon
Canada
Canada — New Brunswick
Canada — Québec
Central African Republic
Comores
Congo
Ivory Coast
Djibouti
Dominica
Egypt
France
Guinea
Guinea-Bissau
Haiti
Laos
Lebanon
Luxembourg
Madagascar
Mali
Morocco
Mauritius
Mauritania
Monaco
Niger
Rwanda
St. Lucia
Senegal
Seychelles
Switzerland
Chad
Togo
Tunisia
Vanuatu
Vietnam
Zaire



radios-télévisions d'expression française (International Council of French-language Radio and Television), and *L'Association internationale des maires et responsables des capitales et métropoles partiellement ou entièrement francophones* (International Association of Francophone Mayors). Many believed, however, that a gathering of the heads of state and government from the world's French-speaking states was needed.

A number of obstacles were in the path of the first meeting of la Francophonie. First, France was initially cool to the idea of such a high-level meeting. Most francophone states in the world are African and the French government feared accusations of trying to dominate Africa (neo-colonialism) if it increased its activities there. Annual meetings between France and French-speaking African states were already taking place, so some thought that a summit was unnecessary. Secondly, debate over the question of Québec's role and representation at such a summit delayed preparations until 1985. Canada and Québec resolved the issue by signing an agreement on the future summit, and the role of Québec. New Brunswick, which is officially bilingual, signed a similar agreement with Ottawa.

The agreed formula for the summit stated that the conference was to comprise two parts. The first would deal with international political and economic issues. On these questions, only the heads of state, or their designated representatives, would speak. Consistent with the agreements drafted between Canada, Québec and New Brunswick, it was agreed that only the Government of Canada could voice the international interests of Canada as a whole.

Most participants at la Francophonie summits are heads of state. In contrast, Québec and New Brunswick have special status. Since they are not states themselves, they participate as heads of government. Thus, the second part of the summit was to consider questions of cooperation and development among francophone states. The Governments of Québec and New Brunswick are free to take part in these sessions, since issues such as education, culture and language fall under provincial jurisdiction in Canada.

The first meeting of la Francophonie was held in February 1986, in Paris. Summits are held every two years, and a

second summit took place in September 1987, in Québec City. The third was in May 1989, in Dakar, Senegal.

Organization and Mechanisms

The first summit established the mechanisms of la Francophonie. Unlike international organizations such as the United Nations or the Commonwealth, no permanent structures or headquarters were created. Instead, it was decided that summits held at regular intervals would set out policies and projects. The following four bodies were designated as the principal agencies to carry out the policies of la Francophonie: the International Follow-up Committee, the International Preparation Committee, the Networks and the ACCT.

The Follow-up Committee is responsible for applying decisions taken at the summits, and for securing the commitment of states to these projects.

The Preparation Committee prepares each new summit. As with the Follow-up Committee, this committee is composed of representatives of various states. Its main responsibility is to set the agenda for the upcoming conference.

To carry out the work of la Francophonie effectively, a number of Networks have been created. These committees are composed of specialists in their fields. The Networks consist of agriculture, energy, the environment, culture, communications, research and development, and language industries. The heads of each Network report to both the Follow-up and Preparation Committees: to the first on the implementation of projects, and to the second for suggestions and proposals for potential projects to be considered at the next summit. An example of a project undertaken is the extension of the European television network TV-5 to North America, making it the world's first intercontinental network.

The Agency for Cultural and Technical Cooperation plays an important role in la Francophonie. Since its creation in 1970, it has established various contacts with a number of states and governments around the world. This makes the Agency a valuable vehicle to carry out projects decided upon at the summits. The Agency is responsible to the Follow-up Committee.

Scope and Membership

The most important criterion for membership in la Francophonie is use of

the French language. This does not mean that French is the official language of every member of the organization. These states use French in varying degrees. In France the language has obvious significance. In other states, such as Vietnam, the use of French is limited.

The French language can be heard widely in five continents: like English, the French language is international in scope. While French-speaking people have a similar linguistic heritage, they often have different cultural, political and socio-economic backgrounds and traditions. La Francophonie's membership is therefore diverse. In total, there are 41 members, including representation from the Canadian provinces of Québec and New Brunswick, and the US state of Louisiana, which, although not a member, enjoys observer status at the summits.

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Factsheet

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INTERNATIONAL LAW AND THE WORLD COURT

Introduction

One of the ways used to pursue a more peaceful and stable world order is the development of international law. International law is a system of principles and rules which attempts to regulate relations among states. It seeks to resolve disputes by applying legal principles, rather than by applying force. An important institution in the field of international law is the International Court of Justice, or the World Court as it is popularly known.

International Law

There is an important difference between international law and the domestic law found in individual states. In states, the sovereign authority — for example, the parliament or congress — makes the law. It is then enforced by police and interpreted by the courts. In the current international system, there is no sovereign authority above the state. States, therefore, cooperate to make international law among themselves. There is no world police authority, however, to enforce international law.

The beginnings of international law are treaties signed by states. Treaties from as far back as 3100 B.C. have been discovered. These treaties are created as the result of a negotiation between states.

Another source of international law is the habitual or repeated behaviour of states in their relations with each other. These accepted norms of behaviour may eventually find their way into treaties, or become a written part of international law. For example, the 1982 United Nations (UN) Convention on the Law of the Sea was signed by almost all the

states in the world. It sets down the rules which govern most of the uses of the oceans and seas. Many of these rules were previously accepted standards of behaviour.

The Use of Force and International Law

Although international law deals with the many aspects of the relations between states, a primary concern has been the question of war and peace.

States have, for many years, claimed the right to declare and wage war against other states. Some have challenged this right but it was not until the twentieth century that meaningful steps were taken to make the use of force illegal under international law.

In 1928, most of the states in the world signed the Kellogg-Briand Treaty. They pledged not to resort to war as an "instrument of national policy in mutual relations." Despite the Kellogg-Briand Treaty, war continued.

In 1945, the Charter of the United Nations marked another attempt to reduce the role of force in international relations. All states which sign the UN Charter pledge to settle their disputes in a peaceful manner. In addition, they pledge to refrain from the threat or use of force. Only in a case of self-defence against an armed attack is a state, or group of states, justified in the use of force. Even so, such a measure is acceptable only until the UN Security Council has taken the necessary steps to restore international peace and security.

The legal provisions of the UN Charter against the use of force have helped change attitudes about accept-

able behaviour between states. They have not, however, put an end to armed conflict.

Origins and Role of the World Court

The International Court of Justice (ICJ) was established at the founding conference of the United Nations in 1945. The ICJ succeeded the Permanent Court of International Justice which was founded in 1919. Both the earlier court, and today's World Court, sit at The Hague, in the Netherlands. All the states which signed the UN Charter also signed the Statute of the Court. The UN Charter makes the Court the principal judicial organ of the UN.

The World Court is not the only institution in the international community which deals with questions of international law. It is, however, the highest authority on international law, and its judgements carry considerable prestige and authority. The World Court deals only with disputes between states. Under the UN Charter, its decisions are binding upon UN member-states. The Security Council is the only other UN organ whose decisions are binding. The Court's Statute allows for non-UN members — for example, Switzerland — to become party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice.

The Court's jurisdiction, or authority to decide in a case, is based on the *consent* of the states involved in the dispute. This upholds an important principle in international law: the sovereignty of the state. Because it is sovereign, no state is obliged to submit a dispute with another state to an international court.

There are several ways a case can come before the World Court:

- Two disputing states can refer their problem to the Court.
- Some international treaties give the World Court the power to rule on a dispute arising from the treaty. By signing such a treaty, a state recognizes the jurisdiction of the Court in matters covered by that agreement.
- As set out in the World Court's Statute, a state can declare that it accepts the Court's jurisdiction in any matter under international law. Such compulsory jurisdiction is only valid if the other state in the dispute also accepts the jurisdiction of the Court.

The Functioning of the World Court

Fifteen jurists sit on the World Court. They are elected by separate votes in the UN General Assembly and the UN Security Council. They must receive a majority of votes in each body. Jurists sit for a nine-year term and can be re-elected. No two jurists from the same state can sit on the Court at the same time. The jurists are selected so that the fifteen represent the main cultures, traditions, geographical regions and legal systems of the world.

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The Limitations of the World Court and International Law

The domestic laws of individual states attempt to maintain a peaceful and stable society by establishing rules which apply to all. Most citizens accept this body of law as a legitimate guide to individual and group behaviour. The state has the power to punish those who break the law. This power to enforce and punish strengthens the legal system of the state.

International law is made collectively by sovereign states. States are reluctant to accept a higher authority such as international law in the way that citizens accept the laws of their state. Because of this, international law can only be as effective as states allow it to be.

Many people argue that, in a world of sovereign states, a state's peace, security and independence can be guaranteed only by the possession of arms. They believe that states will always be competitive. It would be unwise, they say, to put much faith in international laws which cannot be enforced. Force, they conclude, is the final judge in the international community.

Others argue that cooperation is in the long-run best interest of all states. They are convinced that the use of force as a means of solving disputes must end. In order to work toward a peaceful, secure world, states should support the development of international law, and abide by it. In the last half of this century, states have shown that they are more accepting of the rule of international law.

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12



THE UNITED NATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Introduction

The United Nations (UN) is an organization of almost all the countries in the world. It was formed in 1945, at the end of WWII, in the hope of laying the foundation for a lasting peace in the world. The purpose of the organization is summarized in the opening statement of its founding document, the Charter of the United Nations: to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war [and] to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security. . ."

Historical Background

The first modern attempt to set up an international organization to guarantee world peace was the League of Nations. It was created in the early 1920s in reaction to the horror of World War I. In the mid-1930s, the League fell apart. This came about mainly because, in times of crisis, few member states were willing to put the *collective* interests of world peace, before the *individual* concerns of their own states.

During the Second World War, US President Franklin Roosevelt presented another plan for the collective maintenance of peace and security. He proposed an organization based on the League of Nations' experience, including the concept of collective security, but combining it with the right and responsibility of the most powerful states in the world to use their armed might to enforce order. This new formula, with elements of both idealism and realism, formed the basis of the United Nations.

The structure and function of the United Nations was worked out by experts in international law representing the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States. In addition, allies

of these major powers, including Canada, put forward their own recommendations. The resulting document was a constitution called the UN Charter.

At the 1945 San Francisco Conference, forty-six states signed the UN Charter. In 1990, when the newly independent country of Namibia joins the UN, there will be a total of 160 members.

Structure

There are four major parts of the UN: the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Secretariat, and the International Court of Justice.

Security Council

The heart of the UN is the Security Council. This is the only UN body with the authority to intervene in international conflicts, using armed force if necessary. The main powers and responsibilities of the Security Council are:

- to maintain peace and security, given the authority and constraints defined by the UN Charter;
- to investigate threats to international peace or acts of aggression;
- to recommend methods for settling disputes;
- to call for non-military measures, such as sanctions, in an attempt to prevent breaches of the peace or to stop acts of aggression that are already underway;
- to take military actions against an aggressor, if all other measures fail.

The member states of the Security Council consider and vote on recommendations for action. These recommendations are called *resolutions*. Some resolutions have laid the foundation for the settlement of wars and other forms of

armed conflict. For example, Security Council resolution 598 spelled out the conditions for the recent Iran/Iraq ceasefire. Based on other resolutions, the Security Council has authorized the use of peacekeeping troops in regions of conflict, such as the divided island of Cyprus, in order to maintain some degree of stability.

The Security Council has fifteen members. Five are *permanent* members — China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States. The permanent members were the five major powers at the end of World War II. Today they are the only declared nuclear weapon states in the world.

The ten *non-permanent* members each serve two-year terms. Any member of the UN is eligible for election as a non-permanent member of the Council. They are elected to these seats by a free vote of all the countries in the United Nations. Canada has served as a non-permanent member four times in the past, and in 1989 began another two-year term.

The five permanent members have the right to *veto*, or block, any Security Council resolution, simply by voting against it. Some view the veto power of the permanent members as a fundamental flaw in the UN. Others argue that the veto reflects the acceptance of a simple reality: the influence of the great powers on international affairs.

The General Assembly

The Security Council takes action; the General Assembly *deliberates*. Members can express their opinions, individually or collectively, on a particular conflict, but the General Assembly does not have the authority, under the UN Charter, to intervene in a dispute.

The major functions and duties of the General Assembly are:

- to consider and make recommendations on issues affecting international peace and security;*
- to discuss and make recommendations on the UN Charter;
- to receive and consider reports from the Security Council;
- to elect the non-permanent members of the Security Council;
- to consider and approve the UN budget.

Most of the UN's day-to-day work is done by committees formed by members states of the General Assembly. There are seven permanent committees, each concentrating on a specific area, such as disarmament or decolonization. There are, in addition, committees which are set up to discuss critical issues as they arise. These are referred to as *ad hoc* committees.

Both types of committee, permanent and *ad hoc*, debate the various viewpoints on the issue before them. At the end of the discussion, a document may be put forward with a suggestion for solving a dispute or avoiding a conflict. The suggestions are forwarded to the General Assembly where they may become *resolutions*. Successful resolutions are passed by a simple majority vote. In the General Assembly, each state gets a single vote, regardless of size, wealth or power.

Secretariat

The Secretariat is the civil service for the United Nations. It administers the programmes laid down by UN bodies. UN officials take an oath to forswear all national interests and to pledge their allegiance to the world organization.

The head of the Secretariat, the Secretary-General, is the highest UN official. As well as administrative functions, the Secretary-General has a political role as well. The Secretary-

General can bring to the Security Council's attention any situation he deems a threat to world peace. The Secretary-General can use his position to mediate international disputes. For example, Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar and his officials helped bring about the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

International Court of Justice (World Court)

The International Court of Justice was established by the Charter as the UN's principal judicial body. It provides a neutral forum where UN (or non-UN) states can submit their grievances. All submissions are voluntary, and the judgements of the World Court cannot be enforced. States do, however, sometimes take their disputes to the International Court of Justice, and abide by its decisions, despite this lack of power to enforce the decision. What they stand to gain by the exercise is the benefit of the moral and legal authority that the Court conveys.

The United Nations System

Besides the international problems described above, there are other threats to world security — injustice, poverty, illiteracy. The UN Charter established the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) to deal with these problems. It is within ECOSOC that many Third World countries have had their greatest impact on the role of the UN.

Today ECOSOC coordinates the economic and social work of the UN system. Examples of organizations within this system are the World Health Organization (WHO), the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF).

Conclusion

The formation of the United Nations was an attempt to avoid the devastation of war. Presently, there is no authority higher than the individual state to impose and enforce international law. Instead,

the UN is based on *multilateralism* — the belief that the countries of the world can and should work together to solve their problems. For multilateralism to be successful, the UN requires the support of member states. Canada's foreign policy has long emphasized multilateral solutions to international problems. This policy is reflected in continuing, active support for the United Nations.

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*The GA can consider any situation *except* an item under discussion by the Security Council.

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Historical Background

The first modern attempt to set up an international organization to guarantee world peace was the League of Nations. It was created in the early 1920s in reaction to the horror of World War I. In the mid-1930s, the League fell apart. This came about mainly because, in times of crisis, few member states were willing to put the *collective* interests of world peace, before the *individual* concerns of their own states.

During the Second World War, US President Franklin Roosevelt presented another plan for the collective maintenance of peace and security. He proposed an organization based on the League of Nations' experience, including the concept of collective security, but combining it with the right and responsibility of the most powerful states in the world to use their armed might to enforce order. This new formula, with elements of both idealism and realism, formed the basis of the United Nations.

The structure and function of the United Nations was worked out by experts in international law representing the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States. In addition, allies

of these major powers, including Canada, put forward their own recommendations. The resulting document was a constitution called the UN Charter.

At the 1945 San Francisco Conference, forty-six states signed the UN Charter. In 1990, when the newly independent country of Namibia joins the UN, there will be a total of 160 members.

Structure

There are four major parts of the UN: the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Secretariat, and the International Court of Justice.

Security Council

The heart of the UN is the Security Council. This is the only UN body with the authority to intervene in international conflicts, using armed force if necessary. The main powers and responsibilities of the Security Council are:

- to maintain peace and security, given the authority and constraints defined by the UN Charter;
- to investigate threats to international peace or acts of aggression;
- to recommend methods for settling disputes;
- to call for non-military measures, such as sanctions, in an attempt to prevent breaches of the peace or to stop acts of aggression that are already underway;
- to take military actions against an aggressor, if all other measures fail.

The member states of the Security Council consider and vote on recommendations for action. These recommendations are called *resolutions*. Some resolutions have laid the foundation for the settlement of wars and other forms of

armed conflict. For example, Security Council resolution 598 spelled out the conditions for the recent Iran/Iraq ceasefire. Based on other resolutions, the Security Council has authorized the use of peacekeeping troops in regions of conflict, such as the divided island of Cyprus, in order to maintain some degree of stability.

The Security Council has fifteen members. Five are *permanent* members — China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States. The permanent members were the five major powers at the end of World War II. Today they are the only declared nuclear weapon states in the world.

The ten *non-permanent* members each serve two-year terms. Any member of the UN is eligible for election as a non-permanent member of the Council. They are elected to these seats by a free vote of all the countries in the United Nations. Canada has served as a non-permanent member four times in the past, and in 1989 began another two-year term.

The five permanent members have the right to *veto*, or block, any Security Council resolution, simply by voting against it. Some view the veto power of the permanent members as a fundamental flaw in the UN. Others argue that the veto reflects the acceptance of a simple reality: the influence of the great powers on international affairs.

The General Assembly

The Security Council takes action; the General Assembly *deliberates*. Members can express their opinions, individually or collectively, on a particular conflict, but the General Assembly does not have the authority, under the UN Charter, to intervene in a dispute.

The major functions and duties of the General Assembly are:

- to consider and make recommendations on issues affecting international peace and security*;
- to discuss and make recommendations on the UN Charter;
- to receive and consider reports from the Security Council;
- to elect the non-permanent members of the Security Council;
- to consider and approve the UN budget.

Most of the UN's day-to-day work is done by committees formed by members states of the General Assembly. There are seven permanent committees, each concentrating on a specific area, such as disarmament or decolonization. There are, in addition, committees which are set up to discuss critical issues as they arise. These are referred to as *ad hoc* committees.

Both types of committee, permanent and *ad hoc*, debate the various viewpoints on the issue before them. At the end of the discussion, a document may be put forward with a suggestion for solving a dispute or avoiding a conflict. The suggestions are forwarded to the General Assembly where they may become *resolutions*. Successful resolutions are passed by a simple majority vote. In the General Assembly, each state gets a single vote, regardless of size, wealth or power.

Secretariat

The Secretariat is the civil service for the United Nations. It administers the programmes laid down by UN bodies. UN officials take an oath to forswear all national interests and to pledge their allegiance to the world organization.

The head of the Secretariat, the Secretary-General, is the highest UN official. As well as administrative functions, the Secretary-General has a political role as well. The Secretary-

General can bring to the Security Council's attention any situation he deems a threat to world peace. The Secretary-General can use his position to mediate international disputes. For example, Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar and his officials helped bring about the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

International Court of Justice (World Court)

The International Court of Justice was established by the Charter as the UN's principal judicial body. It provides a neutral forum where UN (or non-UN) states can submit their grievances. All submissions are voluntary, and the judgements of the World Court cannot be enforced. States do, however, sometimes take their disputes to the International Court of Justice, and abide by its decisions, despite this lack of power to enforce the decision. What they stand to gain by the exercise is the benefit of the moral and legal authority that the Court conveys.

The United Nations System

Besides the international problems described above, there are other threats to world security — injustice, poverty, illiteracy. The UN Charter established the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) to deal with these problems. It is within ECOSOC that many Third World countries have had their greatest impact on the role of the UN.

Today ECOSOC coordinates the economic and social work of the UN system. Examples of organizations within this system are the World Health Organization (WHO), the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF).

Conclusion

The formation of the United Nations was an attempt to avoid the devastation of war. Presently, there is no authority higher than the individual state to impose and enforce international law. Instead,

the UN is based on *multilateralism* — the belief that the countries of the world can and should work together to solve their problems. For multilateralism to be successful, the UN requires the support of member states. Canada's foreign policy has long emphasized multilateral solutions to international problems. This policy is reflected in continuing, active support for the United Nations.

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*The GA can consider any situation *except* an item under discussion by the Security Council.

Factsheet

11

THE MILITARY USE OF SPACE



Introduction

Just as the military has made use of land, sea and air to carry out its operations, so too does it make use of space. The use of space by the military falls into two broad categories: the use of space for systems other than weapons, and the direct use of space for weapons purposes.

Non-Weapons Uses

There are many military missions that do not involve weapons. For example, gathering information (reconnaissance) and communicating over long distances are important tasks for the military in times of both peace and war. Recently, the use of space has become essential to carry out these tasks. The systems used are comprised of satellites in orbit above the earth, and the facilities on the ground which receive, transmit and interpret the data gathered by those satellites.

Satellites

The first man-made object in orbit around the earth was the Soviet satellite, *Sputnik*, launched in October 1957. This was quickly followed by the first US satellite in January 1958. Since then, a wide variety of satellites have been launched, all of which have both military and civilian applications.

Reconnaissance Satellites: Photographic reconnaissance satellites take photos of the earth. The first known photo of earth from the vantage of space was taken by the US Explorer-6 satellite in 1959. Many of the satellites placed in orbit by the US and USSR are of the photo-reconnaissance type, and are used to take photos of military installations and troop movements. This is a new development of an old idea. Manned, hot-air balloons were used during the US Civil War in order to take photographs of enemy positions below.

A more complex system is the electronic reconnaissance satellite. It monitors radio signals, radar waves and even electronic signals given off by ballistic missiles. Other kinds of reconnaissance satellites monitor vessels at sea, observe launches of missiles and detect explosions of nuclear devices.

Communications Satellites: These provide reliable communications over great distances. Today, some eighty percent of military communications are carried out using satellites.

Navigation Satellites: Pilots, operators and the like use navigation satellites to help determine the position and speed of surface ships, submarines, aircraft and missiles. The satellites also provide informa-

tion for the guidance of missiles towards their targets. The first navigation satellite system was the US Navy's TRANSIT in 1964.

Meteorological and Geodetic Satellites: Meteorological satellites help monitor and predict the weather, a factor which must be considered by military planners. Geodetic, or 'earth-measuring', satellites provide information on the earth's surface and gravitational fields. This kind of information is important for the successful flight of long-range missiles, for example.

As can be seen, none of these types of satellites is itself a weapon. They all have military applications, however. The military would not want to conduct a war without a reliable communications system, therefore communications satellites are crucial. A target must be found before it can be hit, making reconnaissance satellites important.

All of these types of satellites have civilian applications as well. For example, many telephone conversations around the world are transmitted by satellite. Thus, space technology can be used for both peaceful and war purposes, depending on the intent of the user.

Weaponization of Space

The 'weaponization' of space refers to the possibility of placing

weapons in space with the intent of using them against targets, both on earth and in space. This is the aspect of the military use of space which most concerns people.

In the 1960s, the superpowers developed various schemes for the use of weapons in space. For example, the Soviet Union conducted research on a system which would place a nuclear weapon in low orbit. It would be able to return to earth and strike its target on command. Such programmes came to an end with the signing of what is known as the Outer Space Treaty in 1967. The treaty bans the placement of weapons of mass destruction—such as nuclear or chemical weapons—in space. The treaty also demilitarizes completely the moon and “other celestial bodies.” (The Partial Test Ban Treaty of 1963 had already banned nuclear tests in space.) A further step towards keeping weapons out of space was the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty. ABM systems are designed to shoot down ballistic missiles. The ABM Treaty bans ABM systems or their components, from space.

Despite some progress in keeping weapons out of space, there are still two particular areas of concern: anti-satellite weapons (ASATs) and the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI).

Because satellites had become so important to the military, the next question was: how to destroy those of one's enemy? ASATs are designed to inflict physical damage to satellites. This can be done by a collision, by an energy beam, or by an electromagnetic pulse created by a nuclear explosion. Despite some negotiations in the late 1970s, the US and USSR have not reached an agreement which specifically limits ASATs.

The Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) is a research programme first

announced by former US President Ronald Reagan in 1983. Its purpose is to investigate the possibility of building weapons against ballistic missiles. The research includes the possibility of placing weapons in space. Although no SDI components are yet operational, many oppose such a plan because they believe that it could lead to an arms race in space.

Canada in Space

Canada became the third country in space when its Alouette research satellite was placed in orbit in 1962. Since that time, most of Canada's involvement in space has been for civilian purposes. Canadian researchers and industries have developed technology for monitoring objects in space and on earth, as well as systems to process information gathered from satellites. Future projects include building a mobile maintenance and repair centre on the proposed US space station, and the launching of RADARSAT. RADARSAT is a satellite which will be capable of observing the earth even under conditions of darkness and fog. Scheduled for launch in 1994, RADARSAT will use radar to obtain images of the earth.

Canada has also conducted research which shows how the military use of space can be a positive development. Canada's PAXSAT studies have examined the role that space-based systems could play in verifying multilateral arms control agreements. States that sign an arms control treaty want to be sure that all parties are abiding by its terms. Thus, developing better verification technology increases the likelihood of successful treaties.

Canada's studies of PAXSAT illustrate the dilemma of the military use of space. Being able to observe the earth and make sure that no one is breaking a treaty is a positive contribution to international peace

and security. That very same technology, however, can be used to locate and pin-point targets for a nuclear attack. The result of the military use of space can be a more peaceful world, or a more dangerous world, depending on the intent of those who have access to such resources.

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Factsheet

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NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY (NPT)



Introduction

Efforts to stop the proliferation (spread) of nuclear weapons stem from worries that the greater the number of states that possess these weapons, the more likely they are to be used on purpose or accidentally. In addition, if nuclear weapons proliferate, it will be all the more difficult to reduce and eliminate them.

It is generally agreed that increasing the number of states which possess nuclear weapons will not ensure security, and in fact, will make the world more dangerous. Because of this, since the time of the first atom bomb, the international community has attempted to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons.

After World War II, the US, UK and Canada proposed the creation of a United Nations Atomic Energy Commission as the best means of ending the use of nuclear technology for weapons, while maintaining nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

The United Nations picked up on this theme in its first General Assembly resolution in 1946, and ever since has sought to end the spread of nuclear weapons and encourage disarmament, while continuing to promote the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

In 1959, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution expressing

concern about proliferation. It put forward the idea that those states which possessed nuclear weapons (nuclear-weapon states) should not give control of such weapons to states not possessing them (non-nuclear-weapon states). It suggested that this idea should be part of an international treaty.

A resolution in 1965 further built up the elements of a potential treaty by adding that nuclear-weapon states should have obligations to non-nuclear-weapon states, and any treaty should be considered as a step towards the greater goal of general and complete disarmament.

Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)

The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons was signed in 1968 and more states have ratified, or agreed to, this arms control treaty than any other; almost 140 states to date. Five specific articles are the core of the treaty:

- *Article I:* Nuclear-weapon states are called upon not to transfer nuclear weapons or control of such weapons to non-nuclear-weapon states. They are also not to encourage or assist such states in acquiring their own nuclear weapons.

- *Article II:* Non-nuclear-weapon states are not to acquire or manufacture nuclear weapons, or take control over such weapons.
- *Article III:* Non-nuclear-weapon states will accept the safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) on their nuclear activities. Safeguards refers to the measures and procedures the IAEA uses to ensure that nuclear technology and material is not being used for weapons purposes.
- *Article IV:* All states signing the treaty are to do their utmost to assist in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.
- *Article VI:* All states signing the treaty are to carry out negotiations with the purpose of ending the arms race and leading to a treaty on general and complete disarmament.

Every five years after the treaty became legally binding (which was in 1970), review conferences have been held to consider the operation of the treaty. Unlike most arms control treaties, the NPT has a fixed duration of 25 years; the treaty is not indefinite.

In 1995, the parties which have signed the treaty will meet to decide whether or not to extend the treaty

indefinitely, or for a fixed period of time only. The upcoming 1990 review conference will be an important measure of what can be expected to happen in 1995.

The Debate over the NPT

Previous review conferences of the NPT have revealed areas of disagreement among those states which have signed the treaty. In addition, some nuclear-weapon states, and states suspected of having built, or having the capability to build nuclear weapons, have not signed the treaty.

Five states are known as nuclear-weapon states: United States, Soviet Union, United Kingdom, France and China. Neither France nor China has signed the NPT. Although France did not sign the treaty, it declared that it would act as if it had. China initially rejected internationally accepted non-proliferation measures, but it has changed that policy. Its more recent policy is that it will not assist non-nuclear-weapon states in acquiring nuclear weapons and it will require that the safeguard measures of the International Atomic Energy Agency apply on all its nuclear exports.

States which are thought to have nuclear weapons, or the capability to build them are known as 'near'-nuclear-weapon states. In this category are Argentina, Brazil, India, Israel, Pakistan and South Africa. In 1974, India exploded a nuclear device, but it is the only near-nuclear-weapon state that is known to have done so.

Criticism of the NPT, from both those who have signed the treaty and those who have not, centres on several particular issues. It is often argued that the treaty discriminates against non-nuclear-weapon states. Nuclear-weapon states are allowed to

maintain nuclear weapons while others are not allowed to acquire them. In addition, non-nuclear-weapon states must allow their nuclear facilities to be inspected by the IAEA, while nuclear-weapon states do not.

Linked to this argument is the criticism that nuclear-weapon states have not done enough to fulfil Article VI which requires them to negotiate an end to the arms race and to eventually disarm. This link between preventing the spread of nuclear weapons on the one hand, and the reduction and elimination of existing nuclear weapons on the other, is often called the 'bargain' of the NPT.

The claim that this bargain has not been kept was a major point of disagreement at the 1980 review conference. Until the nuclear powers take serious disarmament measures, some states argue that they must keep open the option of building their own nuclear weapons.

Canada and the NPT

Canada played a role in establishing the International Atomic Energy Agency in 1956, and negotiating the Non-Proliferation Treaty. It was the first state with the knowledge to build nuclear weapons to decide not to acquire them. Canada has long warned of the dangers of nuclear proliferation and considers signing the NPT a measure of each states' commitment to disarmament.

The device that India exploded used plutonium produced by a nuclear research reactor that India had purchased from Canada. After this event, Canada changed its policy on nuclear exports so that only states which have signed the NPT, or accepted full-scope IAEA safeguards on their nuclear facilities can purchase Canadian nuclear technology

and materials. Canada has also drawn up specific Canadian requirements which must be accepted by states seeking Canadian nuclear imports.

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Factsheet

9



UNITED NATIONS AND DISARMAMENT

Introduction

When the United Nations (UN) was founded in 1945, it was hoped that its creation would "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war." The maintenance of international peace and security is one of the major principles behind the United Nations and one of the ways this goal is to be pursued is through disarmament. Disarmament means the reduction and elimination of arms. Since 1945, the UN has developed extensive "disarmament machinery," a term which refers to the various UN bodies that deal with the question of disarmament. The more important of these are outlined below.

General Assembly

All states which are members of the United Nations have a seat in the General Assembly. Each state has one vote. The General Assembly is a deliberative body. This means it cannot enforce its decisions on states. Under the Charter of the United Nations, the General Assembly is given the power to consider "principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments." The General Assembly can debate issues, establish principles, make recommendations, and direct that research studies be carried out, but it does not negotiate treaties. The General Assembly expresses its views through resolutions. In 1946, the first resolution ever passed by the General Assembly called for the elimination of atomic weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, and the peaceful use of atomic energy. While this resolution did not lead to the elimination of such weapons, it clearly showed that the international community consid-

ered this issue to be extremely important.

Since the first disarmament resolution in 1946, the General Assembly has passed hundreds on this subject. In some cases, resolutions are passed which contain conflicting ideas and recommendations. In addition, states sometimes abstain from voting, or vote against some resolutions. These factors have reduced the impact of General Assembly resolutions on the course of disarmament initiatives.

Special Sessions of the United Nations

When the members of the United Nations view a particular issue as urgent, they may decide to hold a Special Session of the General Assembly. Normally, the General Assembly considers many issues each year. When a Special Session is held, the Assembly considers only the particular issue at hand. To date, the UN has held three Special Sessions on Disarmament (UNSSODs), in 1978, 1982 and 1988. The end product of UNSSOD I in 1978 was a 129-paragraph statement called the Final Document. The Final Document declared that security required an end to the arms race and a reduction in armaments. The final objective of the international community was stated to be "general and complete disarmament under effective international control." (This objective was first set out by the General Assembly in 1959.) Since 1978, the Final Document of UNSSOD I has served as a yardstick to measure movement in disarmament efforts. In 1982, UNSSOD II was unable to move much beyond the Final Document of UNSSOD I, and in

1988, UNSSOD III could not agree on any final statement at all.

First Committee

The First Committee is one of the seven main committees of the General Assembly. Since UNSSOD I, its sole task has been to consider questions of disarmament and international security matters. All members of the United Nations have a seat on the First Committee, and decisions are made by majority vote. The First Committee recommends draft resolutions to the General Assembly. This means that much of the work of drafting UN disarmament resolutions and gathering support for them occurs at this stage. The First Committee meets in the fall of each year.

Disarmament Commission

The Disarmament Commission has existed in its present form since UNSSOD I. All members of the United Nations have a seat on the Disarmament Commission, although unlike the General Assembly or First Committee, decisions are usually taken by consensus, not by vote. Consensus means that there must be general agreement from all participants; a simple majority is not enough. The Disarmament Commission considers matters of disarmament and makes recommendations to the General Assembly. It also has the job of following up the decisions of special sessions on disarmament. Its work often overlaps with that of the First Committee. The Commission meets in the spring of each year.

Ad Hoc Committees

An ad hoc committee is established to deal with a particular issue

as it arises. For instance, in 1972, the General Assembly established the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean to study a proposal to make the region a zone of peace.

Department for Disarmament Affairs

The Department for Disarmament Affairs is a part of the UN Secretariat, or civil service. The Department carries out research on disarmament matters, and prepares numerous publications. It also provides administrative support for UN disarmament conferences and bodies.

Conference on Disarmament

The Conference on Disarmament (CD) has existed in various forms since 1959. Its current form was established by the General Assembly at UNSSOD I. The Conference on Disarmament meets in Geneva each year for approximately six months. The CD has 40 members, including the five nuclear weapon states (US, USSR, China, France, United Kingdom). Unlike the UN machinery described above, the Conference on Disarmament is a forum for negotiations among its participants. The goal of these negotiations is to produce treaties on particular disarmament issues. Recently, the CD has spent much of its time on a treaty to ban the production of chemical weapons. The CD reports to the General Assembly and receives its budget from the United Nations, but it establishes its own agenda and is not bound by United Nations decisions.

Conclusions

Despite the many resolutions and speeches in the United Nations which have stressed the importance of disarmament, these words have not generally been matched by actions. While there are numerous reasons for this, several are particularly worth noting.

As seen above, UN negotiations leading to treaties on arms reductions and disarmament are undertaken only at the Conference on Disarmament. When two or more states decide it is in their interests to

negotiate a disarmament treaty, they have tended to do so among themselves, outside the UN forums. For instance, the recent treaty on eliminating intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF Treaty) was negotiated by the United States and the Soviet Union; the UN was not involved. This was also the case for both Strategic Arms Limitation Treaties (SALT I & II). In these cases, the only states directly involved in the negotiations were the possessors of the weapons being discussed. While all states have an interest in the outcome of such negotiations, the principal states often prefer to deal directly with each other alone.

The resolutions and principles adopted by the General Assembly may sometimes contradict each other, or the issues they address may overlap. Because of this, it would be difficult to translate such resolutions into treaties. Resolutions or statements that are accepted by consensus (as was the case, for example, at UNSSOD I and II), also often contain language that is so general that it would be difficult to turn it into treaties, which need to be clear and precise.

The United Nations does not lend itself easily to treaty negotiations. With almost all the states in the world taking part in most UN disarmament bodies, so many opinions and approaches are brought to bear on disarmament issues that agreement among all is nearly impossible. It was for this reason that the one component of UN disarmament machinery that does negotiate treaties, the Conference on Disarmament, was set up with only a limited but representative membership. When the international community does manage to agree on a disarmament issue or measure through the UN, that agreement carries considerable weight.

In the disarmament field, the UN has served most often as a forum to present new ideas and approaches to disarmament and to give those ideas legitimacy, recognition, and, especially when agreed by consensus, the weight of world opinion. For instance, the former Canadian prime minister, Pierre Trudeau,

took the opportunity of UNSSOD I to call for a "strategy of suffocation" of the nuclear arms race. This strategy suggested measures which would limit qualitative improvements in nuclear arms and cut off the nuclear arms race at its source.

Especially for states which do not participate in the arms talks carried out by major powers, the UN provides opportunities to put forward concerns and opinions on disarmament. At the same time, UN studies and research can often bring international attention to disarmament issues.

The efforts of the United Nations in the field of disarmament are a reminder of the importance of disarmament to the entire international community, and also of the difficulties in achieving progress in the limitation and reduction of arms.

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7

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SECURITY: CANADA AND THE ARCTIC



Introduction

Canada's Arctic covers more than one-third of the area of Canada. This part of the country has received increased attention in recent years. This attention is the result of several important issues, among them: security and sovereignty. This factsheet will deal with the issue of security.

Security

Security can be thought of as safety. To be safe means to be safe *from* something. For a state, security means to be safe from threats to the well-being of one's state or country. Militarily, these threats are threats which might lead to the invasion and occupation of one's state by another state or alliance of states.

The Past

Before World War II, there was very little military activity in the Canadian Arctic. This activity grew, however, as a result of joint US/Canada defence efforts during and after the war.

Military efforts after the war centred on the possibility of a Soviet air attack across the Arctic using long-range bombers. This bomber threat became less significant when the Soviets built intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs). ICBMs are much faster than bombers and it became generally accepted that it was impossible to defend one's country against ICBMs. It was thought that if the Soviets were to launch an attack, they would depend

primarily on ICBMs rather than bombers. This meant that there was little that could be done to actively defend the airspace of North America.

By the 1960s, military interest in the Arctic had declined. The 1964 White Paper on Defence, which set out the Canadian government's defence plans and priorities, did not even mention the Arctic.

The Situation Today

The 1987 White Paper on Defence showed a renewed interest in Arctic security, and raised the possibility that the Canadian Arctic could become a battleground if war with the Soviet Union broke out. This is due to new concern about long-range bombers, and the ability of nuclear-powered submarines to navigate in the Arctic.

The Bomber Threat

Soviet long-range bombers have become a more effective weapon because they can carry air-launched cruise missiles (ALCMs). Carrying a nuclear warhead, ALCMs can be launched at a great distance from their intended target. The highly accurate air-launched cruise missile can travel 2,000 to 3,000 km on its own power and is difficult to track with radar.

The government has responded to this development by cooperating with the US in building the North Warning System. This is a series of radars which is designed to detect and track aircraft and cruise missiles entering North American airspace over the Arctic.

The government is also building and improving five airfields in the Arctic. Canadian fighter aircraft can use these fields to operate out of the Arctic, especially during times of crisis. Lastly, the government has announced that it will build a permanent military base on Baffin Island for the training of soldiers.

The Submarine Threat

Nuclear-powered submarines use nuclear energy to propel them. They can stay under water for long periods of time and travel under Arctic ice. Soviet subs have been put forward as a possible threat to Canadian security, although there is no evidence that Soviet subs are using Canadian Arctic waters. (United States submarines are known to have used Canadian Arctic waters in the past, not necessarily with Canada's permission.)

There are four situations in which Soviet subs might want to use these waters: 1) Soviet subs might travel through Canadian Arctic waters in order to reach the Atlantic Ocean. In wartime, Soviet subs would probably attack NATO shipping in the Atlantic; 2) to avoid NATO attempts to destroy them, Soviet subs might hide under Arctic ice; 3) Soviet subs might creep up to North America through Arctic waters in order to launch an attack using sea-launched cruise missiles (SLCMs) or ballistic missiles; and, 4) Soviet subs might use these waters to defend against attacks by US subs.

There is much debate about whether

or not the Soviets would use the Canadian Arctic in the ways described above. It is argued by some that under-ice travel is so risky that the Canadian Arctic is too dangerous a route to the Atlantic Ocean and the Soviets are not likely to use it. In addition, narrow channels in the Canadian Arctic could be mined by Canada or its allies, or subs could be sent there to intercept the Soviets. The idea that Soviet subs might hide under Canadian ice has been criticized because it is easier for them to seek protection in heavily defended Soviet waters and under Soviet ice. Lastly, the range of ballistic missiles is great enough that Soviet subs can attack North America while lying in Soviet waters. In addition, if the Soviets wanted to use cruise missiles, they would be more likely to fire them off the East and West coasts of North America. In this way, they would be in a better position to strike major targets in North America.

The government is concerned enough about the potential presence of Soviet subs in the Canadian Arctic that it has proposed several measures to deal with this. It intends to install an under-ice surveillance system to listen for the movement of any submarines. In addition, the 1987 White Paper on Defence proposed that Canada purchase 10 to 12 nuclear-powered submarines in part to cover these concerns.

The Strategic Defense Initiative

The Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) is a US research programme

meant to investigate the possibility of defending against a ballistic missile attack. SDI researchers agree that a successful defence would require a 'layered' system, that is a system which would seek to intercept ballistic missiles during each of their various phases of flight. Were the United States and the Soviet Union to use ballistic missiles against each other, many of them would travel over the Canadian Arctic to their targets. A land-based or sea-based defence against Soviet missiles would benefit from being placed as near as possible to Soviet territory. This raises the possibility of the Canadian Arctic as a potential site for basing components of an SDI system. These components would include systems for detecting and tracking missiles and warheads, as well as for shooting them down.

The SDI programme has not yet led to the deployment of any components. In addition, the Canadian government decided in 1985 that it would not get involved in the SDI programme on a government-to-government basis. This, and the fact that there is uncertainty about the future of SDI under the new administration of President George Bush, suggests these concerns about SDI and Canada may no longer be relevant.

Conclusion

In the past, Canada's northern and Arctic regions were seen as something of a barrier or buffer against invasion or aggression. Today, advances in military technology mean that this is no

longer the case, and Canada must take a new look at how best to ensure its security in the Arctic.

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Factsheet

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THE WARSAW PACT (WARSAW TREATY ORGANIZATION)

Introduction

The Warsaw Pact (also known as the Warsaw Treaty Organization) is an alliance of the Soviet Union and most of the states of Eastern Europe. An alliance can be defined as a group which pursues common interests. In international relations, an alliance is usually characterized by the pursuit of common military interests.

The Warsaw Pact was formed on 14 May 1955 in Warsaw, Poland, with the signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance. The original members of the Warsaw Pact were: Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the Soviet Union. The German Democratic Republic (East Germany) formally joined in January 1956, and Albania formally withdrew from the alliance in 1968. In 1985, the Warsaw Treaty was renewed for another 20 years.

Roots of the Warsaw Pact

When World War II ended, the Soviets kept their forces in most of the countries they occupied in Eastern Europe. The presence of Soviet troops helped to make possible the rise of communist parties in these states. The exceptions were Czechoslovakia, Albania and Yugoslavia. The Soviet Army left Czechoslovakia before the end of 1945 and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia did not take power until February 1948. In Albania, the Communists took power in 1944

without Albania ever being occupied by the Soviets. The Yugoslav Communists came to power under the leadership of Joseph Broz-Tito with minimal Soviet assistance. Tito split with Soviet leader Joseph Stalin in 1948, and Yugoslavia never joined the Warsaw Pact.

Between 1945 and 1949, the Soviets signed numerous 'treaties of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance' with the states in Eastern Europe. The East European states also signed such treaties with each other. These treaties strengthened Soviet control of Eastern Europe even before the Warsaw Pact was formed in 1955. Another factor contributing to Soviet control was the overwhelming influence held by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union over local East European communist parties.

There are different explanations for Soviet behaviour in Eastern Europe after World War II. Some argue that the Soviets sought to expand their power and influence worldwide, and that their control of Eastern Europe was the first step in this process. A second explanation is that by creating states favourable to them, the Soviets sought to put a defensive 'buffer zone' of friendly states between themselves and Western Europe, particularly West Germany.

Creation of the Warsaw Pact

The Warsaw Treaty claims that the treaty was a necessary measure to

safeguard the security of the peaceable European States and to preserve the peace of Europe. Scholars have suggested some other reasons for the creation of the Warsaw Pact:

- The Warsaw Pact was a reaction to NATO's (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) 1954 decision to encourage West Germany to join NATO. The Warsaw Treaty claimed that this event increased the danger of war.
- At the time of this death in 1953, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin ruled the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe with near absolute power. The new Soviet leadership may have viewed the Warsaw Pact as a way to replace Stalin's personal control over Eastern Europe.
- The Warsaw Pact would give the Soviets the political weight of an alliance to counter the political weight of NATO.

Structure

The Warsaw Treaty established the Political Consultative Committee as the most important political-military body of the Warsaw Pact. The Political Consultative Committee itself established a Combined Command of Warsaw Pact forces. These forces are led by the Commander in Chief, who has always been a Soviet officer.

During the first five years of its existence, the Political Consultative Committee met only four times. In

addition it was not until 1961 that the Warsaw Pact carried out a military exercise bringing together troops from its various members. The armed forces of Eastern Europe were under the control of the Soviet Union and when important decisions were taken, such as the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, the Warsaw Pact Combined Command played little role. The dominant position of the Soviet Union in the Warsaw Pact has meant that, until recently, the decision-making bodies of the Warsaw Pact have presented more the semblance of involvement by all members, than the reality of participation.

Hungary 1956 and Czechoslovakia 1968

Over the years, the Warsaw Pact has had internal difficulties which have led to invasions of Warsaw Pact states by other Warsaw Pact states. These cases occurred in Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968.

In October 1956, the Soviet Union sent the Red Army into Hungary to end a popular uprising. This came after the Hungarian government had begun to respond to demands for political change, and also announced that Hungary would withdraw from the Warsaw Pact. No other Warsaw Pact members participated in the invasion.

In Czechoslovakia in 1968, it was the government itself which initiated reforms in the country's political economic and cultural life. Other Warsaw Pact members became concerned that these reforms threatened communism in Czechoslovakia and would lead the Czechs to abandon Warsaw Pact policies. In August Warsaw Pact forces invaded Czechoslovakia. Only Romania did not participate in the invasion. The Soviets later declared that when communism was threatened, the Soviets had a right to intervene in another communist state's affairs. This became known as the

Brezhnev Doctrine, named after then Soviet General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev.

The cases of Hungary and Czechoslovakia are examples of how the Warsaw Pact has served to enforce internal control within Eastern Europe. It has also served to increase the links between the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe through such things as joint military exercises, meetings of Warsaw Pact officials, and the coordination of security policies and proposals. For example, early on, the Warsaw Pact began to call for a Europe-wide security conference. Such a conference eventually took place in the form of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe which met in 1973. The Conference led to the signing of the Helsinki Final Act in 1975 on agreed measures for cooperation between East and West.

The Ongoing Debate

From 1975 to 1985, there was little change in Warsaw Pact policies, but in May 1987 the Pact announced a number of new policies and proposals. It called upon NATO to join in the reduction of conventional forces and to support the creation of nuclear and chemical weapon-free zones in Europe, based on the principle of military sufficiency which emphasizes defensive forces, not offensive forces.

In December 1988, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev spoke before the United Nations. In that speech, Gorbachev promised to withdraw 5,000 tanks from Eastern Europe, reduce the number of Soviet troops by 500,000, reduce the number of artillery systems in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union by 8,500 and reduce the number of combat aircraft by 800. Some in the West believe that the leaders of the Warsaw Pact now recognize that war in the nuclear age is unrealistic and that they seek more cooperation instead of confrontation.

Others believe that these Warsaw Pact policies are meant to make NATO let down its guard and reduce its defence spending. However, the NATO governments have welcomed the measures outlined in Gorbachev's speech as an important step towards creating a balance of forces in Europe.

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Factsheet

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PEACEKEEPING

What is Peacekeeping?

The purpose of peacekeeping is to help end armed conflict and to maintain peace between disputing countries or communities through nonviolent means. This is accomplished using military personnel or, in some cases, civilian police acting as neutral monitors. These personnel are chosen from the international community. Most peacekeeping operations are sponsored by a large international organization like the United Nations. Peacekeeping can help the process toward a peaceful settlement by holding back the fighting so that negotiations for a more lasting agreement can occur. Peacekeeping operations are therefore one step in returning a conflict situation to normal.

Principles Necessary for a Peacekeeping Operation

Peacekeeping forces are usually made up of soldiers from small- and middle-power nations. For a peacekeeping operation to be effective, certain principles must be followed. First, peacekeeping personnel should use only nonviolent means to obtain their goals. Peace is kept by the presence of personnel, not by fighting. Force is used only in self-defence.

A second principle that must be upheld is neutrality. The peacekeeping personnel, and the nations from which they come, must not appear to favour one side of the conflict over the other. Thirdly, the peacekeeping operation itself must be accepted by all parties involved in the conflict. Peacekeeping will not work if it is forced on a situa-

tion. This point leads to a fourth principle, that of cooperation. For peacekeeping to be effective, everyone involved must be cooperative and sincere in an attempt to establish peace.

Before peacekeeping is initiated, however, a mandate must be written. A mandate is a legal basis for action. It gives authority to an organization to set up and maintain a peacekeeping operation. A successful peacekeeping operation requires a mandate which is precise and clearly outlines achievable objectives.

Functions of Peacekeeping Operations

Every conflict or war is unique. For this reason peacekeeping operations must be flexible and able to perform different functions. The International Peace Academy (IPA) has divided the functions of UN peacekeeping operations into several categories. A peacekeeping operation may perform one or a combination of these functions.

a. Internal Pacification: the reduction of tension and reestablishment of military and social stability within a nation so that a negotiated settlement might be reached more easily.

b. Buffer Force: the separation of disputing military forces so that a ceasefire can be negotiated.

c. Border Patrol: the supervision of a ceasefire by patrolling and reporting any violations by either side of the conflict.

d. Observation: the observation and reporting of any incident which might lead to the outbreak of more fighting.

An operation sometimes associated

with peacekeeping is an enforcement action. An enforcement action is the use of force by international troops to restore the peace. Many authorities question whether the use of force fits the guidelines of a "peacekeeping" operation.

Early Peacekeeping Operations

The United Nations was founded in 1945 to help establish and maintain peace. Although peacekeeping was not mentioned in the original United Nations Charter, it soon became an important role of the UN. The first peacekeeping operation by the United Nations, the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO), was set up in 1948 to make observations and to oversee a truce agreement made after the Israeli-Arab war of 1948. This operation continues today. A second observation operation was established in 1949 in India and Pakistan.

In 1956 a larger peacekeeping operation was initiated by the UN. This operation was the UN Emergency Force (UNEF), and was set up to supervise a ceasefire in the Middle East. On 26 July 1956 Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal. This move by Egypt angered the British and the French, who were the principal shareholders of the Suez Canal Company. On 29 October Israel, Britain and France attacked Egypt.

To resolve the Suez Crisis, Lester B. Pearson, then Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, suggested to the UN General Assembly that a peacekeeping operation be set up to super-

vis a ceasefire and withdrawal of foreign troops. Ten nations contributed 6,000 personnel to UNEF. This peacekeeping operation helped keep peace in the Sinai desert, which lies between Israel and Egypt, for ten years. It also set a pattern for future peacekeeping operations.

Peacekeeping has been attempted by some regional organizations as well, but with limited success. The main problem is that these organizations do not have the money, equipment or troops necessary to launch a large peacekeeping operation. This is a problem that even the United Nations has difficulty with. The nations of the UN have had trouble agreeing on who should pay for peacekeeping operations ever since the first operation was launched. At times, some countries have refused to pay for certain operations. Recent estimates have put the annual cost of UN peacekeeping efforts at \$800 million.

Canada's Involvement in Peacekeeping Operations

Canada has been involved in peacekeeping operations since their beginning. In fact, Canada has become one of the most important peacekeeping nations in the world today. It has participated, to some degree, in all 16* of the UN peacekeeping operations to date, up to and including the current operation in Iran-Iraq. Canada has also committed itself to the UN peacekeeping force which will monitor Namibia's transition to independence from South Africa. In addition, Canada's name has been put forward as a part of a proposed UN peacekeeping operation in Central America. Canada has been involved in some of the regional attempts at peacekeeping as well. All told, approximately 80,000 Canadians have served in UN and non-UN peacekeeping operations. The cur-

rent cost of Canada's peacekeeping commitments is estimated to be at least \$62 million. Almost all of this cost will be paid by Canada directly and not by the UN. Canada is respected internationally as an expert in the field of peacekeeping.

Pros and Cons of Peacekeeping

There are different views of how successful peacekeeping operations actually are. Some people think that peacekeeping operations are too costly, and not very successful. They cite examples such as the United Nations Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) as evidence. This operation has been in effect for over 25 years, and although war has not broken out, tensions have not diminished and the crisis has not been resolved. Some argue that the presence of UNFICYP in Cyprus has made it easier for the two disputing communities to avoid settling the conflict.

Others, however, argue that peacekeeping operations are an essential first step in the resolution of such conflicts. They say that peacekeeping was never intended to resolve a conflict, only to hold off the fighting in order for negotiations to take place. The costs of peacekeeping are also considerably lower in human and financial terms than those of the conflicts which they help to prevent.

Peacekeeping, Peacemaking and Peacebuilding

Peacekeeping is only one aspect of a peace process, that of using military personnel to monitor and supervise a ceasefire. Two other aspects of the peace process have been described as peacemaking and peacebuilding. Peacemaking involves negotiation and mediation between the disputing parties, in hopes that they will come to an agreement. Peacebuilding is essentially a political process, and is the most difficult of the three. It involves changing the conditions and attitudes which may have led to the conflict in the first place. This is accomplished through

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* UN operations in Korea, 1950-53, and the subsequent United Nations Command Military Armistice Commission (UNCMAC), 1954 to present, fall outside the current definition of peacekeeping.

Factsheet

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NUCLEAR WEAPON-FREE ZONES (NWFZs)

Introduction

A nuclear weapon-free zone (NWFZ) is commonly defined as a geographic area in which the manufacture, storage, deployment, testing or transit of nuclear weapons is banned. In addition to these conditions, some people argue that a NWFZ should also ban any systems which might make the use of nuclear weapons possible. This would include such things as bases for the use of bombers carrying nuclear weapons, radar sites for tracking possible targets and ground stations which receive data from intelligence collecting ('spy') satellites.

There are currently five NWFZs in the world which have been created by international agreement. The Antarctic Treaty of 1959 bans all military activity in the Antarctic. The 1967 Outer Space Treaty bans placing weapons of mass destruction (which includes nuclear weapons) in earth orbit, on the moon or other bodies in space, or anywhere in outer space. In 1967, the Treaty of Tlatelolco established the first NWFZ in a populated region of the earth: Latin America. The Sea-Bed Treaty of 1971 bans placing nuclear weapons on and in the sea-bed. Lastly, the Treaty of Rarotonga was concluded in 1985 and created a NWFZ in the South Pacific. In addition to existing nuclear weapon-free zones, others have been suggested for regions of the world such as Central Europe, Northern Europe, Africa and the Middle East.

Benefits of Nuclear Weapon-Free Zones

Those who support the idea of NWFZs argue that such zones would have a number of positive benefits. NWFZs can serve as a **symbol** of people's opposition to nuclear weapons. By declaring one's town, city, or province to be a NWFZ, the public sends a political message to its government. On the other hand, when a state declares itself nuclear weapon-free, it sends a message to other states in the world that it will not participate in the nuclear arms race.

A NWFZ has also been described as a **non-proliferation** measure. By banning the presence of nuclear weapons within a NWFZ, the proliferation or spread of nuclear weapons is slowed down. A NWFZ means that one or more region in the world is eliminated as an area in which nuclear weapons might be based.

One of the risks of nuclear weapons is a peacetime accident. In the case of Canada, some have pointed to the dangers of an accident on board a nuclear weapon-carrying ship in a Canadian harbour. A nuclear weapon-free zone which banned such ships from Canadian harbours would ensure **public safety**.

When a state joins a NWFZ, it aims to improve its **security** by reducing the possibility that it will be a direct target for a nuclear attack. In addition, any measure which eliminates or stops the spread of nuclear weapons improves

security because it is the destructive power of these weapons that is the most serious threat to security.

In addition, it is sometimes argued that by declaring itself nuclear weapon-free, a state has an opportunity to pursue a national security policy **independent** of nuclear weapons states, and designed to satisfy its own interests and not the interests of others.

Lastly, the creation of NWFZs can lead other states to do the same. This may create a rippling effect and lead to general and complete **disarmament**.

Criticism of Nuclear Weapon-Free Zones

Not everyone agrees that nuclear weapon-free zones are a significant measure for creating international peace and security. Rather than create NWFZs to halt the proliferation of nuclear weapons, it is argued that a better way would be for all states to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) of 1968. This treaty bans the transfer of nuclear weapons from states which have them, to states which do not have them. In addition, states which do not have nuclear weapons promise not to build them. Since the Non-Proliferation Treaty is an international treaty which has been signed by most of the states in the world, getting all states to sign it is a more effective **non-proliferation** measure than establishing NWFZs.

To date, there has been no rippling effect of NWFZs leading to further

nuclear disarmament. In fact, the two treaties which created NWFZs in populated areas of the world have loopholes which call into question their effectiveness as **disarmament** measures. The Treaty of Tlatelolco allows for 'peaceful' nuclear explosions. Since one cannot scientifically tell the difference between a 'peaceful' and 'military' nuclear explosion, some consider this to be a serious weakness in the treaty. A further weakness in the treaty is that not all the states within the NWFZ have signed it, and some which have signed it have not allowed it to come into force. Chile, Brazil and Argentina are three such states; they have not allowed the treaty to become legally binding on them.

To be an effective disarmament measure, a NWFZ would also require extensive verification. Verification refers to measures which monitor whether or not parties to a treaty keep to its terms. Critics again point to the Treaty of Tlatelolco where some of the states which have signed the treaty have not accepted the verification measures contained in it. Under such conditions, these critics argue, a NWFZ is an ineffective and uncertain disarmament measure.

Supporters of the NWFZ generally agree that a NWFZ should ban the transit of nuclear weapons through the territory of the zone. The Treaty of Rarotonga which established a nuclear weapon-free zone in the South Pacific leaves this decision up to the individual states in the zone. For instance, New Zealand has banned from its harbours ships carrying nuclear weapons; Australia has not. Both states have signed the treaty. Furthermore, an outside state, France, continues to test nuclear devices at the Mururoa Atoll which is within the South Pacific NWFZ. France has refused to sign the relevant parts of the treaty which would commit it to stop such testing.

It is argued that the question of whether or not NWFZs create more **security** for states depends upon which

region of the world they would be established. In areas where there are no nuclear weapons, and nuclear weapons are not likely to be introduced, such zones reinforce the already nuclear-free status of the area. They can eliminate states from direct involvement in the nuclear arms race and improve their security. The case is different, however, for states which already possess nuclear weapons or belong to an alliance which possesses nuclear weapons.

Nuclear weapons are said to deter — that is, to convince an opponent not to attack. Nuclear weapons keep the peace by convincing potential opponents that an attack would be too costly. This creates security. Critics of NWFZs think that to create a nuclear weapon-free zone in a area where nuclear weapons are now stationed would be a sign of weakness and would invite attack. For example, there have been proposals to create a NWFZ in Central Europe. Most members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) think that this would reduce the security of NATO members in Europe. They say that to remove nuclear weapons from Central Europe would leave NATO to face superior Soviet and Warsaw Pact non-nuclear forces and increase the likelihood of conflict.

Canada and Nuclear Weapon-Free Zones

In Canada, more than 180 communities have declared themselves to be nuclear weapon-free zones. This is a symbolic gesture as the government of Canada does not support declaring Canada a NWFZ. Canada does not possess nuclear weapons, but Canada is a member of NATO. Since some NATO members possess nuclear weapons for the purpose of deterring attack, and Canada depends on NATO for its defence, the government argues it would be inconsistent for Canada to declare itself a nuclear weapon-free zone.

Supporters of making Canada a nuclear weapon-free zone agree that

Canada would have to make some important changes in its defence policy if it were to declare itself such a zone. They argue that by making itself a NWFZ, Canada would be taking a step towards preventing anyone from using Canadian territory to attack another state. This would be an effective way of improving Canadian security and could serve as an example for other states.

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Publié également en français.
ISBN-0662-16704-X

September 1988

THE CRUISE MISSILE AND CRUISE MISSILE TESTING IN CANADA

What is a Cruise Missile?

The cruise missile is a guided missile that resembles a pilotless airplane. It is powered by a jet engine and can carry a conventional or nuclear warhead. The cruise missile of today is a descendant of the V-1 "Buzz Bomb" used by Nazi Germany during World War II. These bombs had a range of over 200 kilometres and were fired against Allied targets.

In the 1950s, both the US and USSR began to arm themselves with cruise missiles. These early missiles were very inaccurate, however, and rather large, some being the size of fighter aircraft. Technological improvements in the 1960s and 1970s made the cruise a more effective weapon. These improvements included: development of small jet engines and high energy fuels, the miniaturization of electronic components,

and the evolution of small, powerful nuclear warheads.

Variants of the Cruise

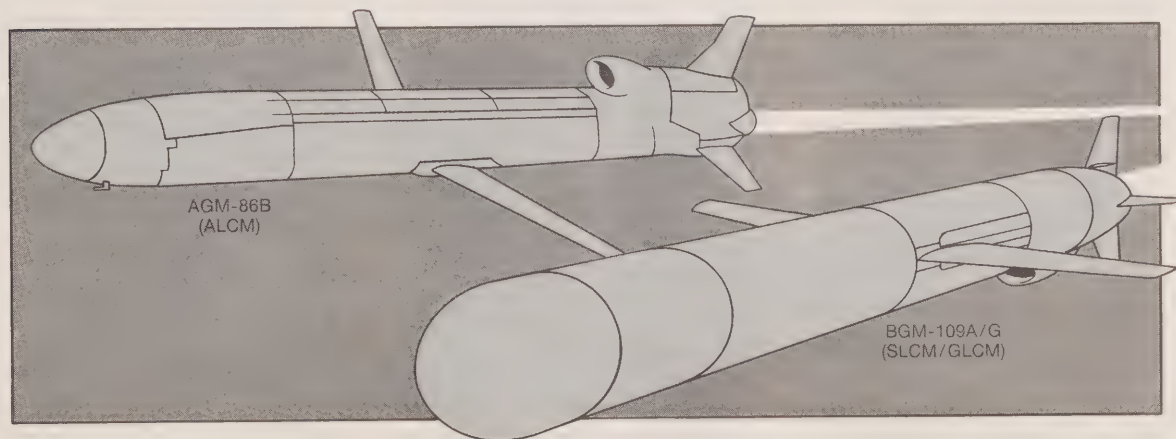
There are three variants of the cruise missile, reflecting the different ways they are launched. The air-launched cruise missile (ALCM) is launched from a bomber. Sea-launched cruise missiles (SLCMs) are launched from submarines or ships. The ground-launched cruise missile (GLCM) is fired from ground-based launchers. (GLCMs with a range of between 500 and 5500 kilometres are banned under the terms of the INF Treaty signed by the US and USSR in December 1987.) Cruise missiles can have a range of several hundred kilometres or several thousand kilometres, making them either short-range cruise missiles or long-range cruise missiles, respectively. They follow a pre-planned flight path and fly relatively close to the

ground in order to evade air defence radars.

First-Strike or a Second-Strike Weapon?

Some of the controversy surrounding the cruise missile concerns the purpose they are meant to serve. Some people argue that the cruise is a first-strike weapon and contributes to a first-strike capability. A first-strike capability is the ability to destroy your opponent's nuclear forces to the point where he cannot retaliate in a meaningful way. The ability to retaliate to a nuclear attack is considered essential in order to prevent such an attack from even being considered in the first place.

Those who believe the cruise missile to be a first-strike weapon point to the high accuracy of the cruise and the difficulty of detecting it by radar. Because of its relatively small size (approximately 6 metres long) it is easier



Modern US long-range cruise missiles. The USSR has developed similar systems.



Typical flight path of US ALCM tests over northern Canada.

to conceal and is more mobile than most nuclear weapons.

Others argue that the cruise is a retaliatory, not first-strike, weapon. Compared to an intercontinental ballistic missile, the cruise may take several hours, instead of 20 minutes, to reach its target. Therefore it is not the best choice of weapons if one is planning a first strike. In addition, although a cruise missile is difficult to detect by radar, a first strike using cruise missiles might require the use of hundreds of such missiles. Such a large number of missiles is unlikely to escape radar detection.

Canada and Cruise Missile Testing

On 10 February 1983, Canada and the United States signed the "Canada/US (CANUS) Test and Evaluation Program." This agreement allows for the testing of US weapons systems in Canada. Its duration is five years and it was renewed in February 1987. While the agreement allows for the testing of various weapons, it is best known for permitting the testing of long-range air-launched cruise missiles.

Unarmed ALCMs tested in Canada are released over the Beaufort Sea by a US B-52

bomber. (In some cases, the missile is not released but its guidance system is activated and directs the bomber and the attached missile to its target. This is called a "captive carry test".) The missile travels 2,200 kilometres down the Mackenzie River Valley, then swings east to the Primrose Lake Air Weapons range which is northeast of Edmonton. The 4½ hour flight is meant to test the accuracy of the missile's guidance system under conditions similar to those found in the Soviet Union.

Why Test the Cruise?

Cruise missile testing in Canada began at a time when ground-launched cruise missiles and Pershing II ballistic missiles were being deployed by NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) in Western Europe. Canada agreed that these systems contributed to the security of Western Europe. By testing the air-launched version of the cruise missile, the Canadian government said it was doing its part to support the policies of the NATO alliance, although the testing agreement itself is only a bilateral arrangement between the US and Canada. The government rejected calls to end cruise missile testing by stating that solidarity with NATO was important at a time when the US was discussing arms reductions in Europe with the Soviet Union.

Some critics of cruise missile testing view the cruise missile as another step in a continuing arms race in which Canada should not be involved. They were particularly alarmed when, in November 1986, the US placed into service its 131st B-52 bomber equipped with cruise missiles. This put the US over one of the ceilings of the SALT II arms treaty. Some argued that since Canada supported the SALT II treaty it was inconsistent to allow the continued testing of the very system by which the US violated the

treaty. The government was further criticized after the INF Treaty was signed by the Soviet Union and the United States in December 1987. Since the INF Treaty will remove GLCMs from Europe, opponents of cruise testing argued that there was no longer any reason to test the air-launched cruise missile in Canada. The government replied that, whereas the GLCM was for use in Europe, the ALCM is a strategic system which contributes to the security of North America. Because of this, it is the government's view that it continues to be in Canada's interest to allow testing of the cruise missile over Canadian territory.

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Publié également en français.

ISBN 0-662-16401-6

Factsheet

2

March 1988

NATO (NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION)

Introduction

Canada, the United States and most of the states of Europe belong either to NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) or the Warsaw Pact (also known as the Warsaw Treaty Organization or WTO). These organizations are alliances. An alliance can be defined as a group which pursues common interests. In international relations, an alliance is usually characterized by the pursuit of common military interests.

In the case of NATO and the WTO, these are alliances which are meant to prevent attack against their members. Members in each alliance also cooperate to some degree in their economic and foreign policies. The countries of NATO are sometimes referred to as the 'West,' because they include most of the countries of Western Europe as well as Canada and the US. The countries of the Warsaw Pact are sometimes referred to as the 'East,' because they include most of the countries of Eastern Europe as well as the Soviet Union.

Origins of NATO

NATO was established by the North Atlantic Treaty signed in Washington, D.C. on 4 April 1949. The founding members of the alliance were: Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom and the United States. Greece and Turkey joined NATO

on 18 February 1952, and the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) joined on 5 May 1955. In 1966, France withdrew from NATO's military command but remained a member of the alliance. On 30 May 1982, Spain joined NATO but declined to participate in the military command.

NATO was formed because it was thought that a weakened Western Europe needed North American support if it were to maintain its independence in the years after the Second World War. The threat to the independence of Europe was believed to be the Soviet Union. NATO was designed to meet the Soviet challenge by combining resources in order to defend NATO members, and provide for their security. One of the important characteristics of NATO is the pledge that an attack on one NATO member will be considered an attack on them all.

There were several events which occurred after the Second World War which led the West to distrust the Soviets, and to see the need for a defensive alliance. Some of these events were:

- The Soviet Union did not reduce the size of its army as quickly as the West did after World War II.
- The Soviet Union installed Communist governments in many of the countries it occupied after the war. In 1946, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill warned that Europe was

being divided in two by an "Iron Curtain."

- In 1948, the elected government of Czechoslovakia was taken over by Communists. This was seen as evidence of the Soviet intention to establish control over Eastern Europe.
- The Communist parties in France and Italy developed large followings and it was feared that these countries would also join the Communist world.

It was events such as these which led to the movement to create some sort of alliance. This alliance would bring together Western Europe and North America in the defence of common values and interests. One of the first countries to take a stand on this issue was Canada. In September 1947, External Affairs Minister St. Laurent stated before the United Nations General Assembly:

"If forced, they [the states of North America and Western Europe] may seek greater safety in an association of democratic and peace-loving states willing to accept more specific international obligations in return for a greater measure of national security."

After the North Atlantic Treaty was signed, the North Atlantic Council met for the first time in September 1949, and began to build a military and civilian framework for NATO.

NATO and the Korean War

The outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950 created a sense of anxiety among NATO members. It was thought that communist North Korea's attack on the non-communist South was encouraged by the Soviet Union. It was feared by some that this might be a prelude to Soviet aggression in Europe. As a result, US President Truman decided in September to increase American troop strength in Europe. On 30 January 1951 Canada announced it would station troops there as well. Canadian and American troops are still in Europe today. In addition, the Korean War led to the adoption of a Forward Strategy for Europe. This meant that aggression would be resisted as far to the east of NATO European borders as possible. This would ensure the defence of all European NATO members.

Nuclear Weapons

When NATO was formed, the Soviet Union had the largest army in Europe. Concern about the size of the Soviet army contributed to the decision on the part of NATO to deploy nuclear weapons in Europe in order to offset Soviet conventional (non-nuclear) strength. This decision was made official by NATO in December 1955.

The strategy NATO now employs to deter aggression in Europe is that of 'flexible response.' Flexible response means that NATO will employ whatever weapons are necessary to convince an aggressor to stop and to restore the peace.

Major Issues in NATO

In an alliance of sixteen sovereign states, some disagreement and dispute can be expected to occur. The following are some of the issues which have led to controversy within NATO.

US Nuclear Guarantee

The US nuclear guarantee is the United States' promise to help defend Western Europe, using nuclear weapons if necessary. It is argued that this guarantee is essential to convince the Soviet Union that nothing would be gained by attacking Western Europe. There is continuing debate, however, about how credible or believable this guarantee is. The question which is often asked is "would the US really risk provoking an attack on itself by using nuclear weapons to defend Western Europe against the Soviets?"

Soviet Intentions

There is considerable debate over the intentions of the Soviet Union in Europe. Some people argue that the West's fears of the Soviet Union after the Second World War were exaggerated and are still exaggerated today. Even though the Soviet Union continues to control Eastern Europe, it is argued that its leaders have given no sign that they want to expand further. NATO, therefore, can reduce its defence spending.

Others argue that it is only because of NATO that the Soviet Union did not take over all of Europe in the first place. Should the NATO allies disarm, or significantly reduce their defence spending, without the Soviets matching these reductions, the Soviets might seize the opportunity to expand their sphere of influence to Western Europe.

Burden Sharing

Burden sharing refers to the question of how the expense of maintaining NATO and the defence of Europe should be divided up among NATO members. It often leads to a debate over how much the US should spend on NATO commitments versus how much should be spent by Western Europe and Canada. In 1978, NATO

ministers pledged to increase their defence budgets for several years by 3% annually over the rate of inflation. In 1986-87, Canada spent 2.75% more (above the rate of inflation) than in the previous year. Not all NATO members have been able to meet the 3% target. The result is that there is criticism in the United States that America bears so much of the spending burden for NATO.

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ISBN 0-662-16107-6

Factsheet

1

February 1988

NORAD (NORTH AMERICAN AEROSPACE DEFENCE COMMAND)

Introduction:

NORAD is the North American Aerospace (originally "Air") Defence Command which was established by the US and Canada in 1958 to defend North America from air attack. While both Canada and the United States sent troops to fight in the Second World War, the North American continent was never seriously threatened with attack. Separated from the fighting by the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, there was little need for concern about the defence of Canada and the United States mainland. This changed with the end of the war and the perceived threat posed by the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Threat

Concern about the air defence of North America was the result of two factors: 1) the belief that the Soviet Union was aggressive; and, 2) the development of the long-range bomber aircraft. The long-range bomber would allow the Soviets to attack North America with nuclear weapons from bases in the Soviet Union if they so wished. In the years after World War II, defence officials in the United States estimated that the Soviet Union would have hundreds of these bombers by 1960.

The Evolution of NORAD

Over the years NORAD has changed as the nature of the Soviet threat has changed. But the Commander-in-Chief of NORAD has always been an American and his deputy a Canadian. NORAD's

command centre is in Colorado and there is a regional centre in Canada. NORAD is essentially an arrangement between Canada and the United States.

The agreement creating NORAD has been renewed six times: in 1968, 1973, 1975, 1980, 1981, and 1986. At the time of the 1981 renewal, NORAD's name was changed from 'Air Defence Command' to 'Aerospace Defence Command'. This reflected a new emphasis on aerospace surveillance and warning of an aerospace attack.

The original fear was that Soviet bombers would attack North America in great numbers and destroy US bombers on the ground, making it difficult to strike back. The response by the US and Canada was to build a radar system to detect Soviet bombers. Fighter-interceptor aircraft would then be sent to shoot them down. Two events altered this mission for NORAD shortly after it was created: 1) the development of the ICBM (inter-continental ballistic missile); and, 2) the realization that the Soviets did not build nearly as many bombers as was predicted.

The North Warning System (dark circles) covers the area out of range of the Over-the-Horizon/Backscatter radars (light arcs). Five northern airstrips will allow temporary forward basing of fighter-interceptors.





Two CF-18 fighter-interceptors escort a Soviet Bear H bomber away from Canadian airspace.

The ICBM is much faster than a bomber, and much more difficult (if not impossible) to defend against. This means the ICBM would likely be the main weapon used by the Soviets in an attack against North America. As a result of this, NORAD became less important, and concerned itself mainly with monitoring the airspace of Canada and the US instead of actively seeking to defend it.

This change in NORAD's role meant that the American and Canadian governments decided to reduce the resources available to NORAD. At its peak in the late 1950s and early 1960s, NORAD operated three radar lines to monitor northern airspace. It employed almost 250,000 people and had over 2,000 fighter-interceptor aircraft at its disposal. By the mid-1970s, the number of radar, people and aircraft had been reduced dramatically.

New Technology: New Challenges

Changes in technology in the 1970s and early 1980s have presented NORAD with new challenges. For instance, the development of the air-launched cruise

missile (ALCM) has renewed the concern about manned bombers.

The ALCM is a pilotless aircraft powered by jet engines. It is small and travels close to the ground, making it difficult to detect. It can carry a nuclear warhead (and usually does except when being tested) and can travel on its own power for 2,000-3,000 kms. The missile can thus be launched from a bomber at a great distance away from the intended target and is a serious threat.

The renewed interest in the air defence of North America has led to new measures to improve NORAD's ability to detect and track enemy aircraft and cruise missiles. Part of this effort is the joint US-Canada \$7 billion programme to improve radar coverage of North America. A key element of this programme will be 52 radars stretched across the north (the North Warning System) and improved radar coverage of both the east and west coast of North America, Alaska, and the southern United States.

NORAD's Mission Today

NORAD in the 1980s has three missions:

- 1) NORAD monitors all missile launches around the world to determine if they are a threat to North America.
- 2) NORAD operates radar which are designed to detect enemy aircraft and cruise missiles approaching North America. Unauthorized aircraft approaching Canadian and American airspace are intercepted by fighter-interceptors.
- 3) NORAD monitors all satellites in space.

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9

UNITED NATIONS AND DISARMAMENT

Introduction

When the United Nations (UN) was founded in 1945, it was hoped that its creation would "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war." The maintenance of international peace and security is one of the major principles behind the United Nations and one of the ways this goal is to be pursued is through disarmament. Disarmament means the reduction and elimination of arms. Since 1945, the UN has developed extensive "disarmament machinery," a term which refers to the various UN bodies that deal with the question of disarmament. The more important of these are outlined below.

General Assembly

All states which are members of the United Nations have a seat in the General Assembly. Each state has one vote. The General Assembly is a deliberative body. This means it cannot enforce its decisions on states. Under the Charter of the United Nations, the General Assembly is given the power to consider "principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments." The General Assembly can debate issues, establish principles, make recommendations, and direct that research studies be carried out, but it does not negotiate treaties. The General Assembly expresses its views through resolutions. In 1946, the first resolution ever passed by the General Assembly called for the elimination of atomic weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, and the peaceful use of atomic energy. While this resolution did not lead to the elimination of such weapons, it clearly showed that the international community consid-

ered this issue to be extremely important.

Since the first disarmament resolution in 1946, the General Assembly has passed hundreds on this subject. In some cases, resolutions are passed which contain conflicting ideas and recommendations. In addition, states sometimes abstain from voting, or vote against some resolutions. These factors have reduced the impact of General Assembly resolutions on the course of disarmament initiatives.

Special Sessions of the United Nations

When the members of the United Nations view a particular issue as urgent, they may decide to hold a Special Session of the General Assembly. Normally, the General Assembly considers many issues each year. When a Special Session is held, the Assembly considers only the particular issue at hand. To date, the UN has held three Special Sessions on Disarmament (UNSSODs), in 1978, 1982 and 1988. The end product of UNSSOD I in 1978 was a 129-paragraph statement called the Final Document. The Final Document declared that security required an end to the arms race and a reduction in armaments. The final objective of the international community was stated to be "general and complete disarmament under effective international control." (This objective was first set out by the General Assembly in 1959.) Since 1978, the Final Document of UNSSOD I has served as a yardstick to measure movement in disarmament efforts. In 1982, UNSSOD II was unable to move much beyond the Final Document of UNSSOD I, and in

1988, UNSSOD III could not agree on any final statement at all.

First Committee

The First Committee is one of the seven main committees of the General Assembly. Since UNSSOD I, its sole task has been to consider questions of disarmament and international security matters. All members of the United Nations have a seat on the First Committee, and decisions are made by majority vote. The First Committee recommends draft resolutions to the General Assembly. This means that much of the work of drafting UN disarmament resolutions and gathering support for them occurs at this stage. The First Committee meets in the fall of each year.

Disarmament Commission

The Disarmament Commission has existed in its present form since UNSSOD I. All members of the United Nations have a seat on the Disarmament Commission, although unlike the General Assembly or First Committee, decisions are usually taken by consensus, not by vote. Consensus means that there must be general agreement from all participants; a simple majority is not enough. The Disarmament Commission considers matters of disarmament and makes recommendations to the General Assembly. It also has the job of following up the decisions of special sessions on disarmament. Its work often overlaps with that of the First Committee. The Commission meets in the spring of each year.

Ad Hoc Committees

An ad hoc committee is established to deal with a particular issue

as it arises. For instance, in 1972, the General Assembly established the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean to study a proposal to make the region a zone of peace.

Department for Disarmament Affairs

The Department for Disarmament Affairs is a part of the UN Secretariat, or civil service. The Department carries out research on disarmament matters, and prepares numerous publications. It also provides administrative support for UN disarmament conferences and bodies.

Conference on Disarmament

The Conference on Disarmament (CD) has existed in various forms since 1959. Its current form was established by the General Assembly at UNSSOD I. The Conference on Disarmament meets in Geneva each year for approximately six months. The CD has 40 members, including the five nuclear weapon states (US, USSR, China, France, United Kingdom). Unlike the UN machinery described above, the Conference on Disarmament is a forum for negotiations among its participants. The goal of these negotiations is to produce treaties on particular disarmament issues. Recently, the CD has spent much of its time on a treaty to ban the production of chemical weapons. The CD reports to the General Assembly and receives its budget from the United Nations, but it establishes its own agenda and is not bound by United Nations decisions.

Conclusions

Despite the many resolutions and speeches in the United Nations which have stressed the importance of disarmament, these words have not generally been matched by actions. While there are numerous reasons for this, several are particularly worth noting.

As seen above, UN negotiations leading to treaties on arms reductions and disarmament are undertaken only at the Conference on Disarmament. When two or more states decide it is in their interests to

negotiate a disarmament treaty, they have tended to do so among themselves, outside the UN forums. For instance, the recent treaty on eliminating intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF Treaty) was negotiated by the United States and the Soviet Union; the UN was not involved. This was also the case for both Strategic Arms Limitation Treaties (SALT I & II). In these cases, the only states directly involved in the negotiations were the possessors of the weapons being discussed. While all states have an interest in the outcome of such negotiations, the principal states often prefer to deal directly with each other alone.

The resolutions and principles adopted by the General Assembly may sometimes contradict each other, or the issues they address may overlap. Because of this, it would be difficult to translate such resolutions into treaties. Resolutions or statements that are accepted by consensus (as was the case, for example, at UNSSOD I and II), also often contain language that is so general that it would be difficult to turn it into treaties, which need to be clear and precise.

The United Nations does not lend itself easily to treaty negotiations. With almost all the states in the world taking part in most UN disarmament bodies, so many opinions and approaches are brought to bear on disarmament issues that agreement among all is nearly impossible. It was for this reason that the one component of UN disarmament machinery that does negotiate treaties, the Conference on Disarmament, was set up with only a limited but representative membership. When the international community does manage to agree on a disarmament issue or measure through the UN, that agreement carries considerable weight.

In the disarmament field, the UN has served most often as a forum to present new ideas and approaches to disarmament and to give those ideas legitimacy, recognition, and, especially when agreed by consensus, the weight of world opinion. For instance, the former Canadian prime minister, Pierre Trudeau,

took the opportunity of UNSSOD I to call for a "strategy of suffocation" of the nuclear arms race. This strategy suggested measures which would limit qualitative improvements in nuclear arms and cut off the nuclear arms race at its source.

Especially for states which do not participate in the arms talks carried out by major powers, the UN provides opportunities to put forward concerns and opinions on disarmament. At the same time, UN studies and research can often bring international attention to disarmament issues.

The efforts of the United Nations in the field of disarmament are a reminder of the importance of disarmament to the entire international community, and also of the difficulties in achieving progress in the limitation and reduction of arms.

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